

THEME AND THE FUNCTION  
OF THE VERB IN  
PALESTINIAN ARABIC NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

BY

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN  
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1983

To my sister SHADYIA,  
who refused to continue her  
studies at Cairo University  
after the final occupation of  
Palestine in 1967. She said,  
before she was killed at the  
age of nineteen,

"WHAT IS THE USE OF A UNIVERSITY DEGREE FOR A  
PALESTINIAN WHEN HE HAS NO WALL TO HANG IT ON?"

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thankfulness to the head of my committee, Dr. Chauncey Chu, is limitless. I am greatly indebted to him for his tireless devotion and generosity in giving of his valuable time to crystallize this work. His kind and patient encouragement has been an important factor in my academic growth.

My gratitude also goes to the rest of the members of my committee. Dr. Alice Faber's comments, guidance and support sharpened my perception in this analysis. Dr. Bill Sullivan enriched my analysis by helping me see other sides to it. Dr. Robert de Beaugrande always enabled me to put things into perspective through his discussions, concern and encouragement. My discussions with Dr. Rene LeMarchand were of great importance to me.

My greatest thanks and love go to my home university, Birzeit, for providing me with this opportunity for growth and enrichment. The difficulties they were enduring while I was far from them constituted a heavy part of my personal suffering.

To all my friends in Gainesville, in the United States, and at home, go my unlimited love and gratitude. Had it not been for their support through my personal, national and academic difficulties, I doubt I would ever have finished this dissertation.

My students at the University of Florida brightened my daily existence by their voracious desire to learn the language. I owe them special thanks for having taught me the system of Arabic through my teaching it to them. Their struggle to see Arabic taught as regular courses at the University endears them to me.

My thanks also go to AMIDEAST for making my enrichment, academic and otherwise, in this country possible. Their academic assistance to my home university, Birzeit, is invaluable to me.

My friend Doug Hazen tirelessly waded with me through parts of this dissertation in an endeavor to disentangle my "strange" style; special thanks to him.

My thanks and appreciation go to the Palestinians, women and men, who permitted me to tape their stories.

Finally, my thanks to Mary Hatcher, who, as my typist, lived with me all the agony of writing this dissertation.



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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council  
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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December 1983

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Major Department: Linguistics

Sentence versus text, written versus oral discourse, and theme as noun versus theme as verb have been matters of controversy in the field of language study since its initiation. More recently, however, these issues have started to be of more serious concern for linguists.

Chapter one is a review of the history and precepts of text linguistics, with reference to the above matters of concern when relevant to the school of analysis, or the analyst him/her self.

My intention in this research was to investigate theme in Palestinian narrative discourse. I made the choice to apply the analysis to oral unplanned discourse, not planned written discourse. Chapter two is an indication of the sources of my data and the characteristics of the Palestinian dialect spoken by the people I chose.

Chapter three is an application of the sentence approach to text. This approach coincides with the theme as a noun approach. The analysis, however, did not prove productive. So, I had to analyze theme as the verb.

Chapter four is an application of the verb as theme in narrative discourse. The analysis shows that the perfect verb is the nuclear constituent in a discourse answering the question "what happened?". Applied to a sample text, the perfect verb clauses prove capable of rendering a minimal generalization (or *précis*) of that text. But not all perfect verbs proved functional in such procedure. Chapter five is an analysis of the verb in Palestinian Arabic. The analysis aims at finding out the reasons behind the discrepancy in the behavior of the verb and the characteristics the perfect verb must have in order for it to express the theme of the text.

Chapter six investigates word order and its pragmatic function in conveying the theme of discourse. Chapter seven gives the conclusion and theoretical implications of the research.

CHAPTER ONE  
A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE  
HISTORY OF TEXT LINGUISTICS

There has been a trend towards text linguistics in the field of linguistic science in the last decade (see Petöfi, 1979; Dressler, 1978; van Dijk & Petöfi, 1977). Differing from previous orientations towards studying the text, this new approach is a multidisciplinary science. Researchers from within the field of linguistics and from other fields (cognitive psychology, sociology, philosophy, computer science, etc.) started to see the relevance of linguistics to their fields. The call was for more orientation towards approaching language as a tool for communication (Parret, 1974). The reasons that led some linguists of the past decade or so to emphasize constructing communicative theories can be generalized as follows.

1. The sentence-oriented grammars of the structuralist and generative approaches of the fifties and sixties of this century proved dissatisfying to those linguists. Problems emerged that these theories could not solve, such as intersentential relations (e.g., anaphoric connections between sentences), as well as problems essential to linguistic communication (e.g., presupposition) (Kuno, 1978; Beaugrande, 1980a, 1980b; van Dijk, 1972). This failure motivated some linguists to ask whether linguistics until then had been

operating with too restricted a model of language, relying as it did on a model which defined language as a system of simple signs and the speaker as an abstract automaton. This dissatisfaction could be seen in the generativists' efforts to break through (generative semantics, case grammar, extended standard theory, etc.). But most of these efforts were done basically as revisions of Chomsky's theory, which was the real object of investigation, language being merely a tool to prove/disprove the theory.

2. The fact that linguists concentrated their investigations on phonological, syntactic and syntactic-semantic analysis proved the view that generative linguistics was based on a reductionist fallacy. Works of philosophers like Searle (1969), psychologists like Vygotsky (1962) and many others (Beaugrande, 1980a; Hopper, 1977, 1979; Petőfi, 1979) showed that language should be seen as a form of social interaction.

3. The increasing interest in the political implications of scientific research has led some linguists to pose the question of how to define the relation of linguistics to social reality, and how to justify its aims of research (see Parret, 1974).

4. The new approach to language as a form of social interaction encouraged empirical research in spoken everyday language, its rules, conventions, and special features (see Labov, 1967, 1972). Such "performance" manifestations as hesitation, repetition and pause, which were long ignored, started to attract linguists' attention, and proved the

indispensability of such manifestations to the language-for-communication researcher (see Ochs, 1979; Schegloff, 1978; Levy, 1979).

5. First analysis of verbal communication supported the hypothesis, which had started to emerge as a result of the linguists' "intuitive" repertoire, that a natural language is not at all a homogeneous system, but a framework that integrates very different kinds of "langs," i.e., ways of communicating by means of verbal signs (see Labov, 1967; Beau-grande, 1980a).

But the study of text is not a new field of research. Its roots can be traced back to the field of rhetoric in ancient Greece, Rome and in the Middle Ages. Text has also been the subject of study for the formalists of the Moscow Linguistic Circle, the functionalists of the Prague and London Schools, the glossematicists of the Copenhagen School, and the Tagmemic School in America.

A complete and comprehensive study of the above-mentioned approaches as the roots of modern text linguistics must be undertaken as a project on its own. For the purpose of my research, I will try only a very short survey, indicating, at the end of this introductory chapter, which approach(es) I find more convincing and more suitable for my research.

Rhetoric, for ancient Greece and Rome, was closely associated with grammar and poetics, the three being the fields of language study. Grammar, though based on the description of texts, did not study the mechanisms and structures of these



texts beyond the boundaries of the word or sign. (The term "text" itself was unknown in classical antiquity, and only the concept "work (of art)" was used.) This task was left to rhetoric. Rhetoric was the field of preparing public orators. Thus, orators were trained in the fields of inventing ideas and manipulating them in discourse for the purpose of persuading their audiences. The etymology of the word "rhetoric" shows that it meant the use and manipulation of words. The field of rhetoric existed long before Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), whose work Rhetoric is considered the roots of the discipline. The principles of classical rhetoric governed oral discourse until the Renaissance, when precepts of rhetoric began to be applied to written discourse.

The field of rhetoric was divided into five parts:

1. Invention: The orator had to find arguments which would support whatever case or point of view he was espousing. Aristotle divided this into discovery and invention. He called the former "nonartistic" argument, used by lawyers, salesmen and politicians. In it the arguments are already laid out for the speakers, who have only to discover them and use them. The other division he called "artistic" argument, in which the user has to "invent" his arguments. He further divided this kind of argument into rational (logos), emotional (pathos), and ethical (ethos) appeals. Further, classical rhetoricians devised a method to aid the speaker in discovering matter for the three kinds of appeal mentioned above. This was through "topics." A topic was a general

line of argument which suggested material from which proofs could be made.

2. Disposition or arrangement: This was concerned with the effective and orderly arrangement of written or spoken discourse. Once the ideas or arguments are discovered, there remains the problem of selecting and organizing them for the most effective presentation of the discourse. Aristotle held that there were really only two essential parts of a speech: the statement of the case and the proof of the case, but he was ready to concede that in practice orators added more parts. Latin rhetoricians further refined those divisions into six parts: introduction, statement of the case, outline of the points or steps in the argument, proof of the case, refutation of opposing arguments, and conclusion. They maintained that these steps should not be rigid, either in choice or in arrangement.

3. Elocution, or style: None of the major rhetoricians attempted to give a definition of style, but most of them had a great deal to say about it. They tackled such areas as choice of words, composition or arrangement of words in phrases or clauses, correct syntax or collocation of words, pattern of sentences (parallelism, antithesis, etc.), use of conjunctions, and other devices in the sentence and between sentences. They were concerned with the functional character of style, with written vs. spoken discourse, and its areas of use.

4. Memorization, which did not receive a lot of attention from classical rhetoricians.

5. Pronunciation, or delivery: Rhetoricians discussed voice, pitch, volume, emphasis, pausing, phrasing, gesture, and facial movements.

The above brief outline of the field of rhetoric shows why it can be considered the forerunner of modern text linguistics. Its orientation was discourse, both oral and written; the "invention" of ideas, their arrangements and cohesion were all discussed; and the end was effective communication. The rhetoricians can be considered the first psycholinguists; they were interested in the production and reception of texts. They can be considered the first sociolinguists; they divided discourse into genres, according to its social use. They can be seen as the first pragmatic students; discourse was studied in its communicative aspect. And they can be seen as the first stylists; they studied inter- and intra-sentential devices (e.g., terms like anaphora and cataphora, which are used by text linguists now for matters of cohesion, are taken from classical rhetoric). Rhetoric has also helped modern text linguists in matters like localizing the text in the entire communication process (cf. van Dijk, 1972:24).

One example that shows how ancient rhetoric influenced modern text linguistics is Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). In their book, they explain the reasons they are concerned with ancient rhetoric.

- a) The accessing and arrangement of ideas is open to systematic control;
- b) The transition between ideas and expressions can be subjected to conscious training;

- c) Among the various texts which express a given configuration of ideas, some are of higher quality than others;
- d) Judgment of texts can be made in terms of their effects upon the audience or receivers; and
- e) Texts are vehicles of purposeful interaction. (1981:15)

Poetics for the Greeks and Romans was the field of literature. They analyzed literary work in terms of its narrative constituents. In his Poetics, Aristotle discussed poetry, dealing with its characteristics and showing how its content was to be arranged if the poem was to be good. He considered plot both an imitation of action and the synthesis of individual acts. He wrote that tragedy had six components: plot, character, diction, thought, spectacle, and music. For these reasons, Aristotle is considered the first "structuralist" in the field of literary evaluation (see Garcia, 1979:27 ff.).

This trend of analyzing a literary text into its constituents has been carried on in this century, into different areas of human life, under the umbrella term of "structuralism." I will be concerned here with only two of these areas: literary criticism and anthropology, both of which are forerunners of some schools of text linguistics prevailing now. In fact, as will be shown in the following paragraphs, the development of text linguistics and these two fields can hardly be dissociated from each other.

Although they worked basically on literary texts, the formalists of the Moscow Linguistic Circle (founded 1915) are important because they were the first in this century to direct literary studies away from the philosophical and

metaphysical approaches that had long prevailed in Europe. They saw the relation between literature and language, and sought to study a literary work systematically as an entity in its own right. Their tenets were an insistence on the autonomy of literary scholarship and an emphasis on the literary work and its constituent parts. The work itself was defined not as a cluster of devices but as a complex, multidimensional structure, integrated by the unity of aesthetic purpose. They saw that the constructive function of each component of the system lay in its relation to other components and to the entire system.

Versification was the basic area where the formalists applied their concepts. They insisted on the organic unity of poetic language and the organizing property of the "rhythmical pattern." (They worked from the outward form to the inward meaning.) Thus, the concepts "phoneme," "word," and "sentence" were explored in terms of their functional role of organizing meaning. Stylistics was an important domain which they explored. They analyzed the styles of individual writers and groups as manifestations of the individual personality or of the group character.

The formalists also showed interest in documentary literature, e.g., reportage, autobiography, and folktale. They worked on narration techniques, focusing on the collective literary tradition of their country. They advocated a "morphological" analysis of fiction, whereby a distinction was made between the "motif" as the basic narrative unit, and the

"plot" as the cluster of individual motifs. They saw plot as a compositional, procedural mode, rather than a purely thematic category. They emphasized the importance of the totality of "devices" employed in the process of telling the story, especially the organic connection between the device of plot-construction and the general stylistic device. Their ideas were thus forerunners of the coherence/cohesion dichotomy of modern text linguistics (Reaugrande and Dressler, 1981).

One of the most important formalist contributions to the theory of fiction was V. I. Propp's study of the morphology of the fairy tale (1958). His method was that of "morphological analysis," i.e., of separating the fairy tale structure into constituent parts. His aim was "to reduce the seeming multiplicity of fairy tale plots to a limited number of basic types." He considered "function" to be the basic unit of the fairy tale, not "character." In other words, the "predicate" of the fairy tale, i.e., what the protagonist "does," is the constant element, while the subject is the variable. He surveyed the entire field of international folklore, and noted that the number of "functions" in fairy tale plots was exceedingly small, while the number of characters was extremely large. He also found that the sequence of these functions was always the same. The striking similarities between the fairy tales of various countries and ages were found to lie not only in individual "motifs," but also in "plots," i.e., in the organization of these motifs. "All fairy tales," Propp concluded, "are structurally homogeneous."

Although Propp's analysis of plot has been criticized as being intuitive, and the order of his motifs as inadequate for being arbitrarily predetermined, the publication of his book, The Morphology of the Folktale, in English in 1958, triggered the rise of a whole stream of "structuralism" in the fields of literary criticism and anthropology. In a paper read at a summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, George Lakoff pointed out that Propp's analysis can be generated by a very simple grammar (Grimes, 1975:15). Van Dijk considers Propp's functions in terms of his notion of macro-structures, or macro-lexemes of a primitive narrative lexicon (1972:285). Van Dijk differs with him on this subject by finding it necessary to add the "role" of the person-ages to Propp's functions, whereby he calls both the role and the function "propositional structures." In this sense, Propp's functions denote only one semantic category of Dijk's propositional structure.

Propp had great influence in the fifties and sixties in the field of literary criticism. Under the cover term "structuralism," different approaches of analyzing literary texts in Europe and America emerged. Literary critics worked basically on narrative grammar. They analyzed the text in terms of "roles" and "functions." They did that on the linguistic basis of an underlying subject-predicate relationship. These critics also paid attention to sequences consisting of more than one rule-function group, and to the syntagmatic linking of sequences (cf. van Dijk, 1977:285; van Dijk & Petöfi, 1977; Harari, 1981; Grosse, 1978).

The characteristics and aims of the "structuralists" in the field of literary criticism of the 1950's and 1960's were described by Harari as follows.

1. To explain all the articulation of narrative discourse.
2. To present a picture of possible narrative discourses, such that all existing narratives appear to be a particular instance of a general, although variable, hypothetical model.
3. To analyze and describe a text as a system of narrative transformations.
4. To study the grammar of narrative in an attempt to specify the possibilities of its meaning. (1981:26)

"Structuralism" has also been prevalent in the field of anthropology. Claude Levi-Strauss was one of the first anthropologists to use such analysis. Like Propp's, his aim was to discover an internal logic of organization behind contradictory or seemingly unrelated ethnographic observations. His basic area of study was the myth. Relying heavily on Jakobson's and Saussure's two axes of paradigm and syntagm, he arranged the constituents of myth into syntagms and paradigms, corresponding to the synchronical and diachronical structure of the myth and its repetitive functions. He also considered myth as a code in a cultural behavior. Both the culture and its code for Strauss are seen to have their algebraic structures (Leach, 1967:33). He considered this growth a continuous process, whereas its structure remains discontinuous. In all his analysis, the aim was to uncover the semantic and cultural laws that operate at a deeper level in the human mind.



The structuralists of the Prague School can also be considered predecessors of text linguistics. Founded in 1929, the Prague School can be seen as a continuation and development of the formalists of the Moscow Circle. In their "manifesto" (1929), they state their approach to language. The Prague School linguists consider language, like any human activity, to be intentional and functional. Thus they advocate the examination of the mutual dependencies of language elements. Just as the individual parts of a language depend on each other, so each element of the language as a whole exists only in relationship to specific extralinguistic conditions, and has functions with respect to these same extralinguistic conditions. The Prague structuralists are the first linguists to study the "functional" roles that linguistic systems play, thus their approach is called "functionalism." These linguists analyzed the "phoneme," the "morpheme," and the "sentence" in terms of the function of each in conveying a message. Their notion of "functional sentence perspective" (FSP) focuses on the communicative function of the sentence. They believe that a speaker's arrangement of the elements of a sentence shows his/her conception of the importance of those elements in conveying a message. They differentiate between two levels of analysis: FSP (which orders information units into "theme" and "rheme") and formal sentence perspectives (i.e., grammatical subject and predicate). They also are concerned with the differentiation of language functions in different professions and

situations, and call for a cooperation between linguists and various other professional groups in working towards better understanding of language problems.

Although their work on texts is mainly concerned with stylistic devices within the sentence or between successive sentences, the Prague School functional approach is important for studying text linguistics (see Daneš, 1974; Palkova & Palek, 1978). This is so because their FSP theory is directed to the description of the sentence from the point of view of its (potential) use in a message. This description uses the two notions of "theme," which generally presents known information, and "rheme," which generally presents new information. Thus, the theme is context dependent and serves as pivot for the connectivity of other segments of the text. Jakobson's theory (1964) of the two axes of "selection" and "arrangement" is important for text linguists and anthropology because it allows analyzing the recurrence of one of the axes in the other (cf. van Dijk, 1972:237; Levi-Strauss, 1966, 1972).

Among the Prague linguists, Daneš is the only one who actually applied the functionalist's precepts to texts. His main concern is theme, which he considers to be the factor that plays the constructional role of organizing the text (1974:113). He offers a practical application of his point of view in terms of what he calls the thematic progression of the text (1970:138 ff.; 1974:118 ff.). His basic procedure is to identify the theme of every sentence of the

text. In Daneš' procedure, the identification of the theme-rheme of every sentence leads to the identification of the thematic progression in the text (see chapter three under Daneš).

The Copenhagen School of glossematics, represented by Hjelmslev, explicitly conceives the linguistic object as a set of texts in which, by segmentation and inductive generalization, the regularities of grammar have to be found. Hjelmslev (1953) is concerned with language as process. Process for Hjelmslev is the infinite "text" which can be analyzed in different types of texts, authorship, chapters, paragraphs, etc. Poetics, for example, according to him, has its rational place within an extended linguistics, i.e., conceived as the theory of all actual or possible manifestations of natural language. The regularities thus discovered permit, deductively, a predictive description of all the possible texts of a language. His grammar, however, does not provide much evidence for this theoretical program because it does not specify any explicit formal procedure for segmenting texts into smaller functional units or subtexts. Analysis actually starts at the level of the sentence, and the structure of the text does not seem to be more than a sequence of serially ordered sentences. No restrictions upon this ordering or upon the possible syntactic or semantic form of successive sentences are given. His crucial concept of (inter)dependency is not defined for structures beyond the sentence. Segmentation of texts is operated along the two basic lines of "expression" and "content." Hjelmslev

stresses the difference in scope of his maximal linguistic units with respect to traditional theories, yet he, for example, does not give any conditions for the combination of sentences. Indeed, seen as a representative of the formalizing principle in the tradition of European structural linguistics, Hjelmslev's concept of text is often close to, if not identical with, a performance notion of discourse, i.e., text analyzed as a corpus of "realized" or "realizable" language, equivalent to a syntagmatic chain or process.

The American counterpart of the above-mentioned European schools is the Tagmemic School, initiated by Pike in 1954. Pike denounced the "narrow" American tradition, which limited grammar to the formal study of sentential structures and separated levels of analysis. He paid tribute to Firth, Hjelmslev and the Prague School and proposed that language be analyzed in terms of its cultural setting. He considered language to be a kind of behavior, and thus "all psychological processes, all internal structured responses to situations, all of thinking and feeling must also be considered as parts of human behavior" (1954:5).

Pike proposed the notion of the Behavioreme as

an emic segment or component of purposive human activity, hierarchically and trimodally structured, having closure signalled by overt objective cultural clues within the verbal or non-verbal behavior of the domestic participants or domestic observer, and occurring through its free or conditioned, simple or complex variant within a behavioral system (or composite systems) and a physical matrix which are also emically, hierarchically and trimodally structured. A verbal behavioreme is an uttereme. (1954:58)

Pike developed and used in his linguistic analysis the concepts of "etic" units and "emic" units. An "etic" unit is the analyst's approximation of a behavioreme, "a first approximation toward making an analysis of the emic structure of that language or cultural system" (1954:4). An "emic" unit is a structured one, a unit of the patterned system, considered in its relation with the whole. "Emic" units are seen as a "hierarchical structure," which are referred to as wheels within wheels (1954:32). Pike (1967) pointed out the implications of the behavioreme concept for studies of discourse. His method called for gathering and analysing data in terms of "slots" and "fillers," i.e., according to the positions open within a stretch of text and to the units that can occupy these positions.

Most of the work of the early Tagmemic School was directed towards the analysis and cataloguing of "exotic" languages. This was done through the output forms of those languages. No great attention was given to the semantics that lay behind these forms. In keeping with this tradition, Robert Longacre devoted his early work to classifying the discourse patterns he found. His work on the languages of the Phillipines (1970) is significant because he began developing a typology of discourse features. More recently (1976), he has, along with other Tagmemicists (cf. Jones, 1977), incorporated semantic analysis into his work.

The slot-and-filler method, a basic technique of code-breaking, has been very useful for describing languages that

the investigator initially knows little about. This integration of anthropology and linguistics in the Tagmemic approach has provided invaluable documentation of many rapidly disappearing languages in remote regions. Its major contribution to a science of texts, however, lies in its systematic recognition of relationships between language and the settings of communication. The problem with the approach is that the slots to be filled are sometimes intuitive, and these functional slots are sometimes expounded by formal entities like the paragraph, itself more of the linguist's intuition for orthographic codebreaking. At the same time, the Tagmemicists do not explain the procedures whereby the speaker/listener chose their structures. Their approach is geared towards the output of a text than its interactional function.

Another American linguist who dealt with text in his analysis is Zellig Harris (1952). Harris is considered the "first" modern linguist who not only considered discourse as a legitimate object for linguistics, but also realized his programmatic statements by giving the first systematic analysis of (given) texts (van Dijk, 1972:26). His paper, "Discourse Analysis," is an attempt to analyze, in a strictly formal manner (i.e., not according to meaning), concrete examples of connected speech in writing.

In this paper, Harris maintains that connected speech is the domain where sentences should be analyzed. Before analyzing text, he first identifies morphemes or sequences of morphemes that have identical environments in sentences and categorizes them in terms of their substitutability in

similar sentences. He then uses transformations for sentences which appear dissimilar, in the text, to account for these morphological distributions. He uses transformational analysis as a way of "normalizing" the text for morphological distribution. He is able, by this method, to analyze an entire text into substitutional classes which he calls equivalences.

Harris's analysis conceived of discourse as a linear surface structure in which hierarchical relationships cannot be discovered. He described text as a long sentence constructed by means of a set of connectors. Also, Harris's method would be applicable to any set of arbitrarily concatenated sentences. This is so because, apart from the list of repeated morphemes or clusters of morphemes, the equivalences established by this analysis are those characterizing the syntactic analysis between any two or more kernel sentences of the language. Indeed, what Harris discovered was not the structure of "connected speech," but some basic properties of the English sentence (van Dijk, 1978:27). The fact is that, in his analysis, as well as in most other attempts at discourse analysis, discourse is constructed from the sentence level upwards.

With the rise of generative grammar, some linguists attempted to apply Chomsky's notions of the deep structure of sentences to texts (see Rieser, 1978). This presupposes that basic concepts in linguistic theory such as "competence" and "performance" would have to be formulated in relation to

"text competence" and "text performance." The first attempts were influenced by Chomsky's theory (1965) and Katz and Fodor's (1963) semantics (see Rieser, 1978). Generative semantics and case grammar, which were a breakthrough in the main theory at the end of the sixties, constituted the background for such developments in generative text grammar (see van Dijk, below). Generative semanticists proposed a linguistic-semantic and logico-semantic description of deep structure. They also voiced their discontent with considering sentences in isolation for grammatical analysis.

George Lakoff (in Parret, 1974) proposed that grammar be seen as generalized relations between sentences, context, and logical structure. He considered the relationship between language, thought, and culture to be very important, and that linguistics should be a way to investigate the nature of human thought and social interaction. He doubted that sentences in isolation can be said to be grammatical. He believed that, in order to determine if a sentence is grammatical, it must be seen in terms of a "logical structure in a given context" (1974:155). McCawley (in Parret, 1974) voiced a similar attitude about the importance of discourse in explaining the sentence in relation to its linguistic and extralinguistic context.

Fillmore's case grammar (1968, 1977) has also influenced modern text linguistics (cf. Grimes, 1975, 1978). Case grammar is an approach to the semantico-syntax of the sentence. This is done by describing the underlying structures of the



sentence through defining the relational patterns of abstract cases. Fillmore proposes that information about a language should be analyzed in terms of role types of cases consisting of prepositions (or their equivalents) and nouns, e.g., agentive, patient, and dative (see also Lyons, 1968; Halliday, 1967, 1968; Chafe, 1970; Grimes, 1975).

Although the approaches above remained basically in the domain of the sentence, their theoretical proposals were incorporated into the study of texts by linguists after them (Rieser, 1978; van Dijk, 1972; Grimes, 1975).

By 1972, the standard work on generative text grammar was van Dijk. Although still working in the tradition of analyzing literary texts, his thesis is intended as a theory on the general structures of texts. His work is based mainly on generative semantics and case grammar. His most important point is his so-called "macro-structure" and "micro-structure" hypothesis. He defines semantic macro-structures to be a set of global restrictions determined by primary and secondary topics of discourse, and says that they represent a global meaning of discourse. Macro-structures are characteristically entailed by the sequence of propositions (micro-structures) of the discourse. Their function is to reduce and organize information, i.e., they delete and combine sequences of propositions, under certain specified conditions. Also, local restrictions occur in discourse (e.g., the restrictions on pronouns, the definite article, relative clauses, tenses, sentential adverbs, conjunctions, topic and comment,

presupposition, entailment, etc.), which determine the coherence between the sentences within a sentence sequence. These local restrictions he called micro-restrictions or micro-structures.

He also proposes the notion of "macro-rules." These are semantic mappings which relate micro-structures to macro-structures. Due to their recursive nature, macro-rules generate not one macro-structure, but several, at increasingly global levels of semantic representation, where the macro-structure is the topmost macro-structure (1978:68). A general constraint on macro-rules is that no proposition may be deleted which is a presupposition for a subsequent (macro-) proposition in the discourse. Four macro-rules are distinguished, deletion, generalization, selection, and construction.

One advantage of this approach is that it can consider a seemingly incoherent surface structure, and show that, frequently, there is a high degree of coherence on the deep structure level. This view is the reverse of that of the "structuralists," whether traditional, functional, or transformational.

The field of text linguistics has also incorporated computer science into its analysis. One of the examples of this is the work of Robert de Beaugrande (1979, 1980a, 1980b). Beaugrande approaches text from the standpoint of its production. Thus, it is for him a process with no built-in point of completion. As such, he approaches it from the fields of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, all of which he

considers as interacting systems of procedures. Internal controls and external controls regulate options, combinations, and each system's interaction with other systems. In his procedural approach, he considers syntax as sequential connectivity; semantics as conceptual connectivity; and pragmatics as actions, plans, and goals. He considers text as a progression between states (the knowledge state, emotional state, social state, etc.). He considers text users to be subject to change by means of the text.

Beaugrande differentiates between virtual systems (sentences, phrases, etc.) and actual systems (the text). He defines text as "a meaningful configuration of language intended to communicate . . . where it is produced by a single participant within some temporal limits" (1980a:2). A set of mutually relevant texts constitute discourse, "a progression of occurrences that may be continued at a later time" (1980a:2). He proposes seven criteria of textuality, as the basis of actualization and utilization of texts (1980a:19; 1980b:17): cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, situationality, intertextuality, and informativity. Drawing heavily from computer science, Beaugrande uses the actual text to draw a "network" of grammar states, with "nodes" and "links," where the processor traverses the links to access the nodes, making the data at the nodes active and current (1980a:43). Grammatical networks are set up in parallel with conceptual ones (1980a:46). Transition from one node to the next requires specifying or discovering the relation between the current node and its successor.

The importance of Beaugrande's model lies in the theoretical stand he takes about language production being a process, and the methodology for analyzing the text as such. I wonder, though, about the possibility of generalizing the methodology to encompass more than one text for each "kind" of network. Until now, each individual text has had to be analyzed as an individual entity, with its own idiosyncratic "network." It is far too early to predict whether it is possible to abstract a "network" relying on a typology of discourse. Other sciences such as psychology, communication, and sociology will have to be more closely incorporated into this field of research. Furthermore, Beaugrande's seven criteria of textuality, convincing as one may find them in isolation, are not yet completely integrated in the approach. The relations between these criteria will have to be worked out in the analysis.

An approach which, as I see it, incorporates several of the above-mentioned schools into its analysis is Hopper's (1977, 1979). Hopper approaches the text as one unit, thus incorporating the ideas of text linguistics so far. Hopper is interested in the theme of the text ("foregrounding" in his terms), thus incorporating Aristotle's analysis, Propp's, Danes's, and the Prague School's orientation as well as the interest shown by the Tagmemicists and the generative text linguists. He considers the text in terms of a producer and a receiver, thus incorporating ancient rhetoricians, some generative text linguists, and the precepts of the Prague

School. The text is a process for him, thus incorporating the Copenhagen School of analysis, Beaugrande's, and other text linguists'. He, however, does not analyze the whole text as process, only part of it, i.e., the theme ("foregrounding"). The rest of the text is nonprocess. It acts as a "background" to the process. It gives it "texture" (1979:39).

Like Aristotle and Propp, but opposed to the Prague School linguists, Hopper considers the "verb," rather than the noun, to be an indicator of the theme. The verb not only indicates the theme, but also points to the "nontheme" ("backgrounding"). This is a function of the tense and the aspect, especially the perfect and the imperfect. Hopper considers the theme of the text to be given through the clauses where the perfect is used. However, it is the perfect, not the whole clause, that indicates the theme. The rest of the constituents of the clause "hinge" on the verb, as does the whole text. By this, he differs from the Prague School's concept of theme (where the clause hinges on the noun phrase), and from van Dijk who considers the noun as an integral part of the clause (proposition in van Dijk's terms). By abstracting the theme in this manner, Hopper is capable, not only of determining its "deep structure" (I prefer the word "basic" <sup>2</sup> to "deep;" the latter seems too abstract and metaphysical to me), but also of showing its consistency and coherence. The last point also helps throw light on some of the problems that have irritated text linguists recently, i.e., the "surface" incoherence of sentences, production

manifestations of repetition, hesitation, etc. But Hopper's procedure is still new, and though the results of his studies are quite productive, he admits that a great amount of further study needs to be done on more languages in order to consolidate the typology of constituents used in "foregrounding" as he proposes.

The above are but a few approaches the field of text linguistics has produced.

The discipline is new, and the heterogeneity of the factors to be accounted for in a text is overwhelming. Text linguistics considers the notion of "text" as a primitive, and yet there is no agreed-upon definition of it as a theoretical construct (Petöfi, 1979). Text linguists have proposed to study the internal recurring properties of text, yet, while we now have a vast amount of work about how a text grammar should be made, in an empirically well-founded manner, we have very little work done on the constituent properties of the object "text."

Furthermore, the number of factors to be considered in analyzing a "text" seems, at the moment, too vast to be studied in direct experimentation.

Some aspects of language are too large (e.g., the totality of discourse in a whole society); too small (micro impulses of nerve cells during language processing); too remote (storage of knowledge in the mind); or too arduous (relating every minimal feature of utterance to its social, psychological and historical evolution). (Beaugrande, 1980a:5)

Such factors have even obliged linguists working in the field to raise the question of whether text grammar "would then be

a utopian global device?" (Berruto, 1979:503). But, of course, the field is still new and since the questions it raises are realistic ones, it only needs more empirical research to verify or revise the theories proposed. The multidimensional nature of text will, then, lend itself to exploration, and text linguistics may not prove to be a "utopia."

The above review shows that text could be approached either from the sentence level, or as a whole unit. It also shows that theme can be approached from the sentence/text level, and from the noun/verb/proposition level. The sentence approaches treat certain nouns as the theme. The text approach treats some propositions as the theme. Text approaches consider either a whole proposition, or a constituent of the proposition to be the theme, i.e., the act or event.

What I will do in the following chapters is to identify the theme in the texts I collected. In this attempt, the method will be inductive. I will try both approaches, i.e., the sentence approach and the text approach (the noun and the verb as the theme).

Since the sentence approach to the theme in modern linguistic research is older than the text approach, I will try the former first. So, after a short introduction to the data and to the language of the data in chapter two, chapter three will be an application of the sentence approach to the theme. For this purpose, Daneš's approach will be attempted. Chapters four and five will be an application of the second

approach. Since Hopper approaches the theme from the perspective of the text as a whole, and as a manifestation and succession of actions and events, I will then apply his approach. Chapter four will therefore be an application of Hopper's theory to a sample text. The procedure and the basic characteristics of the approach will be explained at the same time. Chapter five will be an examination of the characteristics of the verb as a theme pointer. Chapter six will examine the syntactic arrangement of the verb and the noun in the thematic clauses. It will point to the functions of these arrangements. In chapter seven, I will give a summary of the results of analysis, and point to any theoretical implications.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>On the characteristics of texture, see Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Halliday, 1976a; and Hasan, 1978.

<sup>2</sup>Indeed, the way Hopper's analysis goes, the term "basic" applies more than "underlying." Both terms have been used in the literature, sometimes interchangeably.



CHAPTER TWO  
ON THE DATA AND  
PALESTINIAN ARABIC

2.1 Data

The data for analysis will be texts. Unlike either Daneš's or Hopper's data which are written texts, I have decided to apply the analysis on spoken, unplanned discourse. One reason for the choice stems partly from the stand I take towards language, i.e., language as an instrument of communication in which discourse pragmatics determine the choice of morphology and syntactic ordering. As such, spoken discourse represents such pragmatic choices more than written discourse (Labov, 1967; Guiliani, Ciliberti & Camboni, 1979:174). The second reason stems from the fact that Palestinian Arabic (hereafter, PA) has not been well studied. Except for Cowell's comprehensive study of Syrian Arabic (1964), the studies are meager.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in a few cases Arabic has been studied with a domain of analysis beyond the sentence. However, the texts chosen were from Standard Arabic (Beeston, 1970; McCarus, 1976; Sawaie, 1980). Texts from the dialects, and PA among them, have not been studied yet. Thus, it can be seen that PA has not been comprehensively studied in sentence grammar, and has not been studied in the domain of texts at all. This, of course, does not mean that a comprehensive study of PA will be undertaken in this research. The intention

is that this study will trigger further research of the dialect, to be compared with studies of the formal dialect.

The texts were recorded during my trip in the summer of 1981 to my hometown of Nablus, in the north of Palestine.<sup>2</sup> My search was for the most unplanned discourse. This, in my view, would form the other end of the continuum from Classical Arabic and Standard Arabic, the two Arabic dialects comprehensively studied so far. The characteristics of the other dialects, PA among them, are not defined yet. As such, studies on both Classical Arabic and Standard Arabic will be the points of reference in analyzing PA (see next section on Arabic dialects).

In order to make sure that it is this "end of the continuum" that I am collecting, a "hot" subject was needed. A hot subject is believed to manifest the most unplanned in an oral discourse (Labov, 1967; Ochs, 1979). But, having been away for two years, I first needed to find out what the "hot" issues of people's life were at that moment in history. I "chatted" with everybody, old and young, rich and poor, educated and noneducated, students and merchants, political and apolitical. Thus, I was able to collect data about a number of "hot" experiences that the people of the city went through: bad economy; confiscation of land; treatment at the bridge when crossing from Jordan, their only way to their families outside the West Bank; checkpoints on the roads; destruction of the houses; soldiers breaking into universities, schools, or meetings; curfews; prisons; etc.

The list of topics proved long; any one of them would be a good topic for analysis. But because I had decided on a narrative topic, drawing from Longacre and Levinsohn (1978), I chose to take an incident to be narrated. I decided on one incident which was experienced at the same time by several people. Several accounts of the same incident would give me better data to validate the analysis and would lessen my interference by enabling me to ask each speaker the question "what happened?" and not interfere in the communication after that. The last point, however, proved unrealistic. An important factor in the continuation of the speakers's production of their "texts" was my nonverbal feedback. What effect this had on the production of the texts, important as it is and indispensable as it is for the study of texts, will not be studied in this research, for practical reasons of its impossibility in this research.

The episode that I chose was an incident that happened at one of the prisons. It concerned a clash between the prisoners' families and the prison guards at the gate of one of the prisons. A report about the incident was filed by the Red Cross in Jerusalem. But being official and written, it is to be considered a planned version of the unplanned texts I have recorded.

I tried to control as many variables as possible in choosing the text producers. For example, only women were chosen, thus excluding the sex variable. The women were all of low economic background, which excludes the economic variable. They had either no formal education, or only a little,

thus limiting the education variable to some extent. Their ages were between 20 and 45, thus reducing the age variable; and they were all from Nablus,<sup>3</sup> which lessens the dialect variable.

Twelve texts were recorded about this incident. This amounts to 812 minutes of recording. Only five of these texts, however, will be actually analyzed. The criterion for the choice has been the applicability of the above cited concern about variables. The five texts amount to 460 minutes of recording. Each, of course, varies in its length. (The shortest is 28 minutes of recording, and the longest is about 114 minutes.) More detailed information about the texts will be given in the course of analysis. The five texts to be analyzed will be referred to as A, B, C, D, and E, and are presented in full in chapter four (Text A) and the Appendix (Texts B-E).

## 2.2 The Nature of Nablus Palestinian Arabic

Before the analysis, a few lines are needed about the nature of the dialect of the texts. The texts pertain to one of the colloquial dialects, i.e., the Nablus Palestinian dialect. In order to understand the position of this dialect, a note is needed about diglossia in Arabic, and the nature of the rest of the varieties of the Arabic dialects.

## 2.3 Note on Diglossia in Arabic

A major sociolinguistic fact prevailing in the Arab world is the diglossic situation of the language (see Ferguson, 1959). Zughoul (1979) discusses the subject, and points to four varieties of the language.

Classical Arabic or Fusha Arabic (FA). This is the language of the Koran, the Holy Book of Islam. Thus, it can now be found in remote areas outside the Arabic-speaking countries, among Moslems in the Soviet Union, China, Burma, West Africa, etc. It has been the instrument by which the Islamic culture was spread, recorded and preserved. It has been the official language of all the Arab countries. It is the variety taught in schools, used in sermons, meetings, conferences, documents, and for all other formal purposes throughout the Arab world. It is the written variety of Arabic.

Zughoul characterizes Fusha Arabic features as follows.

- a. It has a complicated grammatical system unchanged since written eleven centuries ago by Arab grammarians;
- b. It has a highly inflected grammatical system. In this system, mood, case, number, gender, and all grammatical functions are marked by adding a short vowel or a marker (called i9rab);
- c. It has a morphological distinction between genders (masculine and feminine), and between numbers (singular, dual, and plural); and
- d. Its adjectives agree with the nouns in number and gender. (1979:168)

Colloquial Arabic (CA). This stands at the other extreme of Fusha Arabic. This is the native variety of the Arab masses, illiterate and educated. It is the language of oral communication of daily matters. Almost each Arab country has one or more distinctive dialects. Variations are found primarily in the phonology and the lexicon.

Zughoul lists the following characteristics for Colloquial Arabic.

- a. It is simpler than Fusha Arabic both in syntax and lexicon;

- b. The ʔi9rab inflections are deleted;
- c. The dual is rarely used, and the plural formation is simpler;
- d. The vocabulary is more open to borrowing from other languages than Fusha Arabic;
- e. Several phonemes have been dropped in Colloquial Arabic, and others added in each dialect; and
- f. A shift from VSO to SVO word order has occurred in its syntax. (1979:141)

The other two varieties of Arabic that Zughoul discusses are Educated Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. These can be placed on a continuum between Fusha Arabic and Colloquial Arabic. Zughoul gives the following characteristics for each (1979:142).

Educated Arabic (EA). Zughoul does not consider this dialect to be a well defined dialect. Basically, it is the dialect used by educated Arab speakers coming from different countries and consequently, different dialect backgrounds. Zughoul gives the following features for EA.

- a. The SVO word order of CA is maintained;
- b. Morphological rules of CA apply to EA. Case endings are deleted;
- c. Phonologically, the vowels of FA stay the same, whereas the consonants show a shift to FA. Phonological processes remain dialectical;
- d. The lexicon of EA draws heavily on FA, and is open to borrowing; and
- e. Educated Arabic is marked by code-switching to foreign languages, mainly English and French. (1979:142)

Modern Standard Arabic (SA). Standard Arabic emerged with the development of journalism in the Arab world and the spread of mass media. It is the variety in which the newspapers are written, and the news and cultural educational radio programs are broadcast. Standard Arabic differs very little from FA (142).

Nablus Palestinian Arabic dialect falls under the second category, i.e., Colloquial Arabic. As mentioned earlier, PA has not been well studied. Reference in the analysis of Arabic will be from that done on Fusha Arabic as well as on Standard Arabic. Both varieties have been more studied than CA or EA.

#### 2.4 The Phonemic Inventory of the Nablus Palestinian Arabic Dialect

For the purpose of transliteration of the texts to be analyzed, the phonemic inventory of the Nablus dialect will be given. It will be based on studies by Cowell (1964), Blanc (1953), and Abu-Ghazaleh (1977), in terms of articulatory features. Only the place of articulation will be indicated for ease of reference. Other features can be referred to in the above-mentioned studies. The symbols chosen to represent each phoneme in the dialect are so done to facilitate an "English" reading of them. The Arabic symbols are given, too.

##### The consonants.

- a. The labials: / f / ف  
                   / b / ب  
                   / m / م  
                   / w / و
- b. The dental/alveolars: / t / ت  
                               / th / ث  
                               / d / د  
                               / n / ن  
                               / l / ل

/ r /	ر
/ s /	س
/ z /	ز

c. The pharyngealized dental/alveolars:	/ T /	ط
	/ D /	ظ
	/ S /	ص
	/ Z /	ض

d. The palatals:	/ sh /	ش
	/ j /	ي
	/ y /	ي

e. The velar/uvulars:	/ k /	ك
	/ x /	خ
	/ G /	ع

f. The pharyngeals:	/ H /	ح
	/ 9 /	ع

g. The laryngeals:	/ ? /	هـ
	/ h /	هـ

### The vowels.

#### a. Short vowels:

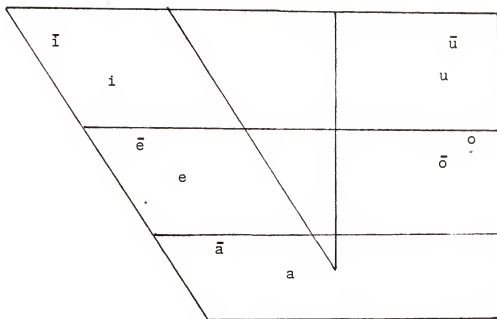
/ i /, with allophonic variation of [i] and [e],  
 / u /, with allophonic variation of [u] and [o],  
 / a /.

#### b. Long vowels:

/ ī / [ī] and [ē]; / ū / [ū] and [ō]; / ā /.

The place of articulation of these vowels would, on the Cardinal Vowel Chart of the IPA, look like the following:





It is worth mentioning that, when any pharyngealized consonant occurs in a "word," the whole word will be pharyngealized. This, however, will not be indicated in the transliterations.

The above is a brief explanation about the texts to be analyzed, and the characteristics of the dialect they are taken from. The phonemic inventory for the dialect is indicated, and the transliteration symbols are given. This done, the following chapters will be an analysis of the theme of these texts. First, the sentence approach to the text will be attempted to find the theme in the text. This will be the task of the next chapter.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Indeed, there are other studies, but most of them are in languages other than English or Arabic; see, for example, references in Moshe Piamenta (1966, 1967), Rosenhouse (1976), Blanc (1953), for references in Hebrew, French and German. Blanc (1953) is a study more of phonology and morphology than of syntax.

<sup>2</sup>Nablus is now considered the largest city in the West Bank (the name is given to the part left of Palestine after the foundation of Israel on the rest of Palestine in 1948). The Palestinians who remain on the land of Palestine are estimated to be 1.75 million (out of the total number of 4.5 million Palestinians). These are divided as such: half a million in the Gaza Strip, half a million in Israel, and three quarters of a million in the West Bank. Nablus City holds 70,000, and the Nablus district 130,000.

<sup>3</sup>What I mean here is that they are all natives of Nablus, that is, not from the camps around the city where the Palestinian refugees from the other parts of Palestine (called Israel now) have lived since 1948.

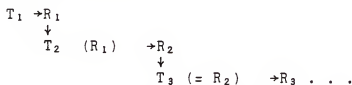
# CHAPTER THREE

## THE SENTENCE APPROACH TO THE TEXT

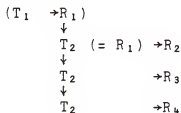
### 3.1 Theoretical Orientation

Daneš approaches the text as a sequence of utterances.<sup>1</sup> Each utterance is seen from the dichotomy of its two constituents of T(heme)-R(heme). He thus sees the whole text as a progression of the T-R material, i.e., something in the R of the first utterance will become the T of the following one. This he considers the simplest form of thematic progression (TP). Daneš (1970, 1974) divides TP into five kinds.

1. Simple linear progression (or TP with linear thematization of Rs). This he schematizes in the following way (1970:138; 1974:118).



2. Thematic progression with a continuation (constant) theme. This he schematizes in the following way (1970:138).



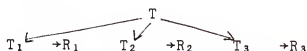
or (1974:118).

$T_1 \rightarrow R_1$

$T_1 \rightarrow R_2$

$T_1 \rightarrow R_3$

3. Thematic progression with derived Ts. This he schematizes as (1974:119).



4. Explosion of a split theme (1970:138; 1974:120).

$T_1 \rightarrow R_1 (= R'_1 + R''_1)$

$T_2' \rightarrow R'_2$

$T_2'' \rightarrow R''_2 \dots$

5. Thematic progression with an omitted link (1970: 138). This, he considers, consists of the omission of one or more utterances in a thematic progression. It happens when the thematic content of such an utterance is quite evident, plainly implied by the context, and therefore unnecessary. He also considers other possibilities of TP that are a combination of any of the above main kinds of TP.

Daneš believes that each T has to be chosen (derived) from the subject matter already presented in the given discourse (text) or from the common stock of knowledge of the participants of discourse. As is evident from the schemata, Daneš's identification of TP depends basically on identifying the T-R dichotomy (which he calls "nexus") in the first utterance of the text. To adopt his analysis, I will first have to find out the T-R of the initial utterance in any text that I have in order to obtain its TP in Daneš's terms.

For example, the first text (Text A) starts with the following utterance.

A:1 fi 9ashara sitte ruH-na n- zūr ?axū -y  
       in ten six went-we we-visit brother-my  
       fi s-sijen  
       in the-prison  
       "On June 10 we went to visit my brother in prison."

Now, determining the theme-rheme nexus of this sentence is a problem. The answer we get depends on whether we follow the approach of the Arab grammarians, of the functionalists of the Prague School, of the functionalists of this country, or of the transformational generative school (TG).

All of the above schools have analyzed the theme from the perspective of the sentence. Generally speaking, the functionalists are basically different in their approaches from the TG school. While the functionalists consider theme, and language in general, from the "functional" or "communicative" point of view, the TG grammarians consider the theme (or topic) in terms of syntactic processes, especially what they term "movement rules." Since I am concerned with language as a vehicle for communication, I will exclude the TG school from my analysis of theme and examine only the functionalist approach.

The basic step in determining the TP outlined above is to find a consensus among the functionalists concerning the theme of this first utterance. Since Daneš is of the Prague School, I will first consider the analysis of theme as proposed by the linguists of this school. Due to space

limitation, I will examine only some of the more important analyses proposed within this school. This is not to say that the other approaches have not contributed to the discussion (see Vachek, 1964; Danes, 1974; Garvin, 1979).

### 3.2 The Prague School Analyses

The Prague School (PS) is the first in modern times to give the notion "theme" its due importance. This is a result of their considering language a tool of communication, and analyzing it accordingly (see chapter one). They analyze the sentence in terms of its two (communicative) constituents of theme and rheme. They also consider the level of semantics, wherein the dichotomy of given-new manifests itself. Both levels (together with the grammatical one) interact, so that theme and given coincide with the subject of the sentence in the unmarked cases.

Yet, within this school there exists a great latitude in the interpretation of what constitutes a theme. The theoretical implications of these interpretations can either be overlooked in the analysis or considered further enrichment of the notion "theme." This can be decided on after the application of each of these interpretations to the above-mentioned sentence of Text A.

For this reason, I will now try to apply these interpretations, as a first step in identifying the TP of Text A. I will apply Daneš's, Firbas's, and Halliday's analyses of the theme, respectively.

### 3.2.1 F. Daneš

Important to the understanding of the theme as presented by Daneš is the concept of "utterance" as opposed to "sentence." This distinction between the individual utterance and the sentence pattern as a unit of the grammatical system is based on the ideas of Mathesius, the founder of the Prague School (see Vachek, 1964:306-320). This is further elaborated by the PS linguists in order to accommodate the communicative notions of theme and rheme.

Daneš (1964:228) postulates a theory of utterance in which communicative processes of organizing the utterance, the grammatical structure of the sentence, and context should be treated. Daneš proposes the following three levels of language organization: the grammatical structure of the sentence; the semantic structure of the sentence; and the organization of the utterance (1964:225). He considers the organization of the utterance to be the factor that makes it possible to understand the function of the semantic and grammatical structures in the very act of communication (1964:227). As such, it is to the domain of utterance, being a communicative event, that the dichotomy of theme-rheme and given-new pertains.

Daneš defines the theme as "something that one is talking about, topic" and rheme as "what one says about it, comment" (1970:134). From the contextual and/or the situational perspective, he considers the theme to be the part that contains already known or given elements (134). Daneš also considers

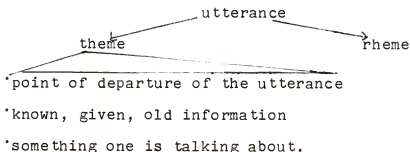
theme in terms of its position in the utterance as preceding the rheme. Although Daneš's definition of the theme as the "starting point of utterance" has been considered ambiguous (Firbas, 1964:279; Jones, 1977), I take the order of T-R to be physical as well as psychological.<sup>2</sup> The reason I take it to be so has to do with Daneš's equating the theme with "already known, old, piece of information" (1964:134, 140).

Daneš elaborates more on the relationship between "theme" and "given" (or known) in his 1974 paper. He considers the latter to be relative and very broad (if not vague) (1974:109). Here he takes into consideration the speaker's evaluation of the presupposed position of the listeners. He considers "given" to be a graded property, which depends on the length of the preceding text (1974:109). He even proposes a hierarchy of the feature "given."

However, Daneš does not show how a hierarchy of givenness could be found, neither does he show how its relation to the theme could be exploited. For him, the elements of "known" information occurring in an utterance are exactly those elements that are closely connected with the selected theme. Nor does he seem to elaborate adequately on the notion of the theme. He merely considers the theme as the opening element of the sentence. It links the utterance to the context and the situation, selecting from several possible connections to become the starting point from which the entire utterance unfolds and in regard to which it is oriented.



Daneš's notion of "theme" could be schematized in the following way.



I will now try to apply Daneš's treatment of theme to sentence A:1. The sentence is repeated here for ease of reference.

A:1 fi 9ashara sitte ruH-na n- zūr ?axū -y  
      in ten six went-we we-visit brother-my  
      fi s-sijen  
      in the-prison  
      "On June 10 we went to visit my brother in prison."

According to Daneš, the first, underlined part must be the theme. This is so because if we consider this utterance to consist of two constituents, the underlined prepositional phrase (PP) and the following clause, then the PP is the point of departure for the utterance and therefore must be the theme. Givenness, as Daneš states, is a graded property and it depends on the interlocutors. Since I was the one that the speakers spoke to, "givenness" in this instance is irrelevant. The PP referent was outside the scope of my question. This lack of relevance, I maintain, excludes the PP from being the constituent that indicates the theme in sentence A:1.

Daneš wants to develop an objective criterion for ascertaining the theme of a given utterance (1974:114). He attempts to do this by asking WH-questions, in order to elicit

the rheme of a given utterance. In this way, he says, we can indirectly find out the theme of an utterance (1974:115). He calls this the WH-theme-excluding technique.

To use this WH-rheme-excluding technique, I asked my informants the following question.

1. ?ēsh Sār  
what happened  
"What happened?"

Sentence A:1, as an answer to this question, does not only stand as all new, but is also inadequate as an answer to this question because the speakers did not stop there. They continued until they felt that they had given a full answer to the question. For the speakers, the whole text is the answer to the question instead of just the first sentence. In this case, at least, Daneš's technique for finding the theme or rheme does not prove helpful.

On the other hand, Jones (1977:185) further elaborates on this proposed objective theme/rheme finding technique. She considers the WH-word "what" to be different in its scope from other WH-words. "What" for her is "a question word for the entire proposition." This difference can be seen in the case if, in the treatment of A:1, I had asked my informants the following question.

2. ?ēmta ruHtu 9a s-sijen  
when went-you to the-prison  
"When did you go to the prison?"

The PP, then, will be an answer to the WH-word ?ēmta--"when?" It will be the new information conveyed, and thus the rest of the clause, and not the PP will then be the theme.

Another possibility is asking the following question,

3. ?esh 9miltu fi 9ashara sitte  
 what did-you in ten six  
 "What did you do on June 10?"

in which case the PP can be repeated in the answer (A:1) as part of the old information.

The above discussion shows that there is no way of analyzing utterance A:1 in terms of Daneš's "objective" division of utterance into theme and rheme. The whole utterance has to be taken as new information, or rheme, in accordance with the WH-word "what" question that I asked my informants. Indeed, even when we accept this utterance to be new information (or rheme in Daneš's terms), it still does not completely answer the question ?ēsh Sār--"what happened?" Sentence A:1 will have to be supplemented with the utterances that follow it in the text, as indicated earlier.

It is clear that Daneš's treatment is insufficient. Firstly, his criterion of "knownness" is not an objective criterion. It depends on what the speaker "thinks" the listener knows. Secondly, his WH-technique is too general and needs to be seen in terms of the characteristics of each WH-word. Thirdly, he says that the theme of an utterance has to be discovered by looking back at the utterance preceding it. Daneš applies his notion of TP only after the theme of a previous utterance has been identified. This makes the theme a rigid constituent of the utterance. I find it theoretically and practically impossible to analyze the TP of the text from the standpoint of only one of its constituents, the utterance. The whole text, as a communicative event, has to be taken into

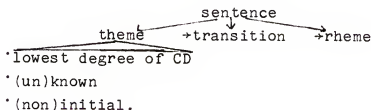
consideration. If this is done, Daneš's procedure of first determining theme in order to determine TP must be modified to include looking forward in the text as well as backward. Only then will his method yield accurate results.

### 3.2.2 J. Firbas

Firbas, working from the same perspective of the PS concept of theme, initiates the concept of communicative dynamism<sup>3</sup> (CD) into this approach. He defines the theme as "the sentence element (or elements) carrying the lowest degree(s) of CD within the sentence" (1964:272). In this definition, Firbas makes it a point not to equate the theme with known or given information, although he recognizes that they may coincide. It is rather the degree of CD that is important in his definition. He also refuses to see a consistent union of the theme with the beginning of the sentence (1964:274). Firbas even goes further to agree with Beneš's differentiation between the theme and what Beneš terms "basis." Basis is

the opening element of the sentence that links up the utterance with the context and the situation, selecting from possible connections one that becomes the starting point, from which the entire further utterance unfolds and in regard to which it is oriented. (Firbas, 1964:276)

Firbas further sees a transition element in the sentence. In the unmarked and nonemotive cases, theme-transition-rheme will be the order in the sentence (1974:13). Firbas's analysis of the sentence can, then, be schematized as:



Firbas's postulation shows an extremely important further understanding of theme in terms of CD. The notion of "theme" vs. "base" is of interest. It frees the analyst from the long-time awkward position of equating theme with the beginning of a sentence. Unfortunately, Firbas neither gives an objective way of identifying the CD element(s) in a given sentence nor elaborates on the important differentiation between theme and base.

If we try now to apply Firbas's notion of theme to the first sentence of Text A cited earlier, we will be faced with the problem of what constitutes the lowest CD that identifies the theme in this sentence? What is the criterion, if any, for this lowest CD?

However, I would like to propose that there can be an objective way of finding out the element with the lowest CD. In order to do this, I maintain that the domain of analysis has to encompass the whole communicative event (the full text) rather than the sentence, which is a theoretical construct (see Beaugrande, 1979; Lyons, 1978; Petöfi, 1979; Daneš, 1970). If this is done, the discrepancy between proposing a communicative notion such as Firbas's CD and its domain of applicability will, I hope, be lessened.

As Firbas identifies the theme as the element(s) carrying the lowest degree of CD, i.e., from the point of view of FSP,<sup>4</sup> it is the element that pushes the communication forward the least. Depending on such a criterion, I maintain that such an element either will not surface, or will surface the

least or will surface in its minimal form in the subsequent text depending on the structural requirement of the language. Since it is the element with the lowest CD, it does not have to be used again by the speakers. If this criterion is accepted, then, we will be able to account for the theme of a sentence not only with recourse to the previous context (1964:272), but also with recourse to the communicative event (the rest of the text). The element that has been used the least, whether repeated or in any sort of paraphrase, will, I maintain, be the theme of its sentence, having the lowest degree of CD.

But a question arises here. Is the CD element to be considered a linguistic element or a pragmatic one? Now, if we return to Text A, we find that the linguistic element that is not to be used again in the text is the PP initiating sentence A:1. Thus, we can say that the adverbial phrase in A:1 is the theme of that sentence, considering Firbas's notion of CD in terms of a linguistic element with its relation to the whole text.

However, if the CD is to be looked at pragmatically in terms of the whole text, we find that the constituent ruHna nzūr ?axūy--"we went to visit my brother" is the activity that the whole text is about its defeat. Indeed, had it not been for the defeat of this goal that is stated in the initial sentence, there would have been no text produced. This has been stated by the speakers, e.g., in Text B (103-105). The speakers indicate that their subject matter (what they

are talking about) happens for the first time. The other non-problematic visits were achieved and there was no need for texts about them to be registered (by me, the Red Cross, etc.). It is only with the defeat of the purpose of the activity that these texts became important for registering (Beaugrande & Colby, 1979:49). Can we, then, apply Firbas's CD to this constituent and consider it theme as well?

One problem that I am aware of, however, is the fact that, by so doing, I will be using two different theoretical constructs to account for one notion. The problem entails the question: is "theme" for the sentence (being a noncommunicative construct) the same as "theme" for the text (being a communicative manifestation of language)? And, if theme is a communicative notion, is it at all plausible to account for it in terms of a noncommunicative construct such as the sentence? This is not to say Firbas's notion of CD is not insightful. It only suggests that the theme can be more objectively accounted for if the text is its domain.

### 3.2.3 M. Halliday

Working from Britain in the stream of the PS, Halliday is also concerned with how the grammatical and semantic structures function in the context of communication (1974: 44), i.e., the organization of the clause as a message. Halliday perceives language as composed of series of system networks, each network representing the choices available to a given constituent type (1967a:1). Four main semantic function systems are given by him. These are (1976a:59): (1) the experiential or ideational function (which deals with

cognitive content, actions, events, states, relations, etc.); (2) the logical function (of conjunctions, negation, implication, etc.); (3) the interpersonal function (mood, speaker, attitude, etc.); and (4) the discoursal or textual function (theme, information). Theme vs. rheme belongs to the discoursal function. Halliday (1967b:200) uses "theme" in a generic sense of "theme" system as well as in the specific sense of theme vs. rheme. Within the "theme" system, Halliday identifies six subsystems. What concerns us here are those of information, identification, and thematization. These three are structural devices of text-creation, and are describable in terms of either the sentence or the clause. What I find interesting (though vague) is Halliday's differentiation between given and new; known and unknown; and theme and rheme. The dichotomy of given and new belongs to the subsystem of information. It is realized obligatorily by the tone-unit, and optionally by the speaker. It might have the phrase, clause or sentence as its domain. Given is "recoverable anaphorically or situationally" (1967b:211). It is "what you were talking about" or "what I was talking about before" (1967b:212). Known and unknown belong to the subsystem of identification, where the simple equative sentence "X equals Y" (the leader is John), and the more complex type of the cleft-sentence (what John saw was the play) (1967b:223) are considered to have two parts: known information (what is presupposed or the point of reference) and unknown information. The third subsystem of "theme" is the theme-rheme



dichotomy. Here, the sentence and not the information unit is the domain.

In his treatment of the theme, Halliday seems to account for it basically in terms of its position in the clause<sup>5</sup> (1967b:212). Halliday's position is repeated in his 1976b article, "putting something first is what gives it the status of the theme" (1976b:68). Halliday also uses semantic and pragmatic definitions. "Theme" is what is being talked about (1967b:212) and "the point of departure for the message" (1967b:247).

I find Halliday's treatment of the theme confusing and even somewhat contradictory. In spite of the fact that he considers the theme to have a discoursal function (text-creating), he insists on confining his treatment to the domain of the clause. Furthermore, he does not see the relation between theme and given. He does not even link it to any relation it has with previous mention, though it is what is being talked about. It is hard for me to dissociate "what I am talking about now" from "previous mention." This is because of the position, agreed upon in this school, that language be treated as a continuum and Halliday's concept of the text to be one instance of the situation (see Halliday & Hasan, 1976:393). Thus, dissociating the theme from any previous mention (or previous understanding) stands as contradictory to the relationship he sees to exist between text and situation.

The basic problem in the treatment of the theme in Halliday's analysis seems to stem from the same factor mentioned

earlier for PS linguists in general: it is the application of a communicative notion to a noncommunicative context (i.e., the sentence, the clause, or the utterance). Had they taken the whole communicative event into consideration (the text), the theme would have been given its due treatment. An example of such was shown when Firbas's notion of CD was applied to the text above.

I am making here a rather strong claim, i.e., the theme, as a discoursal notion, cannot be treated within the domain of the sentence. If the theme is to be taken as it has been generally understood, i.e., "what we are talking about," then what we are talking about has to be derived from our talk, i.e., the whole communicative event, the text. My claim will be elaborated upon in the next chapter.

Another point that I also find contradictory is the discrepancy between the definition of the theme as "what we are talking about" and treating it in terms of "who" we are talking about, i.e., they generally equate theme with the NP of the sentence. "What" as an action is not considered by these linguists. But this will be the point of discussion in the next chapter.

### 3.3 American Linguists

The treatment of the theme by two American linguists, also in the functionalist approach, could shed light on the theme of sentence A:1. These two linguists are W. Chafe and S. Kuno.

### 3.3.1 W. Chafe

In his 1976 paper, Chafe discusses cases in English which have been considered "topic" (or "theme" in Halliday, 1967a: 49). He gives examples such as,

1. The pláy, John saw yésterday.
2. As for the pláy, John saw yesterday.

Chafe does not see the first items in these sentences as "topics" (or themes) and considers them as of contrastive nature. He concludes by saying "that it would be a step forward to stop using the term for these English cases of contrastiveness" (1976:50), and adds no more about the theme in English, implying, as I understand it, that it is not syntactically relevant for the analysis of English sentences.

Chafe, however, recognizes a theme in Chinese, a topic-prominent language (see Li & Thompson, 1976). He describes such topics for Chinese in the following way: "the topic sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds" (1976:50). Chafe seems to equate certain temporal adverbs in English with such Chinese topics. He also ponders the idea stated elsewhere in the literature (see Givón, 1976, 1979a; Lehman, 1976) about topics in English as premature subjects.

Important in his paper, though, is his notion of "consciousness" and its interaction with the speaker-addressee at the moment of utterance. This notion of consciousness is important for understanding the notion of theme in the communicative event. In his 1973 and 1974 papers, Chafe elaborates

more on the interaction of "givenness" and "consciousness." "Given information" he suggests, "is that which the speaker assumes to be already present in the addressee's consciousness at the time of an utterance" (1973:111). Drawing from psychology, he treats memory in terms of three levels: surface, shallow, and deep memory. All three kinds of memory enter into consciousness through different kinds of perception, but are retained to a lesser or greater extent. Surface memory has the strongest retention (270). Linguistically, Chafe shows how these kinds of memory interfere in the choice of tense and/or aspect, and adverbs.

Concerning the choice of adverbs, Chafe gives the following examples to illustrate the three kinds of memories used when people choose any of these adverbs. These examples are:

1. Steve fell in the SWIMMING pool.
2. Steve fell in the SWIMMING pool yesterday.
3. Last Christmas, Steve fell in the SWIMMING pool. (1973:263; 1974:131)

These sentences are illustrations of surface, shallow, and deep memory, consecutively.

With surface memory, the speaker has the option of leaving out such an adverb, even though no time reference has been contextually established. With shallow memory, he is not able to leave the adverb out, but he may use what I called a WEAK temporal adverb: one that is low pitched and in sentence final position. With deep memory, which covers more or less permanent storage, he has no choice but to use what I called a STRONG adverb. (1974:130)

Having Chafe's treatment of the temporal adverb in mind, both in terms of the three levels of memory in his 1973 and,

1974 papers, and in terms of his considering them topics like the Chinese ones, I will try to analyze sentence A:1 and see to the possibility of a better insight into its "topic" (or theme).

The sentence again is:

A:1    fi 9ashara sitte    ruHna    nzūr        ?axūy  
          on    ten        six    went-we    we-visit    brother-my  
          fi s-sijen  
          in the-prison  
       "On June 10 we went to visit my brother in prison."

If we take Chafe's analysis in terms of the three levels of memory, we can see that the speaker had the option of giving any of the following responses in answering the question: ?ēsh Sār--"what happened?" besides the one she did give, i.e., sentence A:1, e.g.,

A:1.a.    ruHna    nzūr        ?axūy        fi s-sijen  
              went-we    we-visit    brother-my    in the-prison  
  
 A:1.b.    ruHna    nzūr        ?axūy        fi 9ashara sitte  
              went-we    we-visit    brother-my    in    ten        six

The speaker could have omitted the temporal adverb (A:1.a.), or could have positioned it later in her speech (A:1.b.). That she did use the temporal adverb in A:1 shows that this is a kind of level three memory (deep level) in Chafe's terms. The time of the incident is recorded in the speaker's memory and reported as of great importance. One usually does not give complete specification of the temporal adverb at the onset of the account of an event unless it is of great importance to him/her, something equivalent to the great historical events recorded concerning the nation's life. This event is singled out in her memory as one.

Now, what relation does this have with the thematicity of the above adverb? Chafe (1976:51) seems to consider such an adverb as the theme in accordance with the behavior of topics in Chinese. This, however, seems to me to contradict a previous treatment of the theme by Chafe. In his 1974 paper, he treats the notion of consciousness in terms of the given-new information and its relation with the theme as explained by the Prague School. "The Czechs speak of degrees of CD. The lowest degree, which I would identify with information assumed to be in the addressee's consciousness, is associated with what is called the 'theme' of a sentence" (1974:119). Applying this to the three examples of temporal adverbs he gives (above), we find that the adverb positioned initially by the speaker indicates a higher degree of consciousness (or deep memory) on the part of the speaker and which s/he cares to bring up for the addressee. Thus, if I understand correctly that Chafe associates "knownness" with "theme," then the adverb initiating sentence A:1 cannot be the theme of that sentence, being a "strong" adverb in Chafe's terms.

Another way of interpreting Chafe's analysis is to consider another optional constituent, in addition to the temporal adverb in sentence A:1. This can be

A:1.c. fi 9ashara sitte ?iHna ruHna 9a s-sijen  
           in    ten       six    we    went-we to the-prison

The speaker could have used the separate pronoun ?iHna-- "we," as in A:1.c., but did not. Can we then apply Chafe's notion of memory with its relation to the optionally used pronoun here as well?

Although Chafe applies his notion of memory and consciousness to time adverbials only, I do not see why we should not also apply them to any optional constituent as well. Since this separate pronoun that could have occurred in A:1 is optional, its use or nonuse by the speaker can, I find, be accounted for in terms of its "knownness" by the interlocutors. Chafe accounts for the nonuse of the adverb in terms of surface memory where "no adverb is necessary," apparently because the speaker can assume that the addressee is automatically conscious of the time of the event (1974:130). Such information is part of the orientation of the discourse, automatically shared by both speaker and addressee. The speaker is thus able to treat the entire period of surface memory as something given, and is not obliged to communicate any time reference with respect to it (1974:131). This leads me to also considering the otherwise occurring pronoun ?iHna-- "we" in sentence A:1 as the theme of that sentence. Since, according to Chafe, the nonuse of an optional constituent is an indication of the high degree of its knownness which he equates with the PS notion of low degree of CD (1974:131).

We are now left with three possible themes for sentence A:1. According to the analysis of the PS linguists, it has been shown that the adverbial initiating the sentence can be considered the theme. Chafe's analysis in his 1976 paper seems to agree with such a treatment. Yet, if the levels of consciousness that he has proposed are the criteria, the adverbial can not be the theme of that sentence since it has a

high level of consciousness (or deep memory), and the deleted pronoun has to be the one. The constituent ruHna nzŭr ?axŭy-- "we went to visit my brother" has also been proposed to be the theme of the text; this constituent indicates the purpose of the activity (the text). If Firbas' notion of CD is to be taken pragmatically, then it is the activity referred to by this constituent that does not surface in the text, or is not accomplished. The text is about its nonaccomplishment.

It is clear that I am already in trouble in my intended search for the TP of Text A. The analysis has not proceeded farther than the first sentence. Even here, I have as yet found no way to decide what the theme of the sentence is. This, as indicated earlier, is a prerequisite for finding the TP of Text A. To solve this problem, I still need to resort to other analyses in the treatment of the theme. First, the approach of Kuno, an American functionalist, will be tried, then that of Arab grammarians.

### 3.3.2 S. Kuno

Working from a strong background of transformational generative grammar, but applying the PS notion of FSP, Kuno finds four distinctive roles for an NP initiating a sentence. He gives the following example: "John kissed Mary" and states that "John" can be either: (1) theme, (2) contrast, (3) exhaustive listing, or (4) neutral description (1972:269).

Kuno states that the distinction between these four roles in a language is "so semantically basic that it would be surprising if there were languages which did not make



any such distinction either by intonation, by word order, or with recourse to different constructions" (1972:297).

Kuno shows how, for Japanese, these roles are indicated by the particles wa and ga. Wa, he states, indicates the noun to be old, predictable information, and thus indicates the "thematicity" or "contrastiveness" of that noun. Ga, on the other hand, indicates the element of new information, which is the subject of the sentence denoting either "neutral description" or "exhaustive listing."

Kuno uses the following WH-word technique as an environment for what he terms "neutral description." I will use the same technique and find out what results emerge. The question he uses is "what happened next?" (1972:269). In PA it will be

ʔēsh   Sār   baɔden  
what happened next?

We notice that as an answer to this question, we can have any of the following parallel to sentence A:1.

- a. ʔijĩna ʔiHna w ruHna 9a s-sijen  
came-we we and went-we to the-prison  
"(Others did not know what to do) we came (i.e.,  
took the step) and went to the prison."
- b. ruHna 9a s-sijen  
went-we to the-prison
- c. ʔiHna ruHna 9a s-sijen  
wé went-we to the-prison
- d. ʔiHna ruHna 9a s-sijen  
we went-we to the-prison

Any of the above is a valid answer to the question "what happened next?" Answer a indicates a new entity coming into the scene. We notice that the structure of this sentence

differs from the rest in that it is the only one with a VS word order (see word order in chapter six, where the analysis of the text exemplifies it better). Answer b, which differs from c in lacking an initial NP, indicates the continuation of the same referent of the previous discourse. Answer c indicates that, out of all the people present, some (i.e., "we") did the act. The NP in c. is stressed and does not imply contrastiveness. I find that Kuno's equation (274) can be used to describe such an NP: "Among Z, X (and only X) is Y." He terms it "exhaustive listing." The NP in answer d is of a lower stress than that of c. It is contrastive in the sense of its being appositive to a definite entity referred to in the immediate text or context. Other textual factors, however, play their role in differentiating both kinds of NP. But this pertains to the domain of the text and will be treated when the text is treated, i.e., in the following chapters.

Here, a technique instead of the text can be used to show why answers a-d are each different from the others in function. This could be shown if we supply the previous and/or the ongoing discourse. The following may illustrate the point.

1. ?ēsh 9milt-u ba9dēn  
    what did-you after that  
    "What did you do after that?"

Here, only b can be an answer to this question. The reason is that the referent is already stated by -u--"you" in the question part, which makes it redundant to repeat this pronoun in the answer.

2. ?ēsh Sār ba9dēn rāH il-kul 9a s-sijen  
 what happened after that went everybody to the-prison  
 "What happened after that? Did everybody go to the  
 prison?"

Here, only c and d can be the answers. The following environment illustrates the difference between these two.

- c.1. ?iHna ruHna w il-bā?i Dallu  
 we went-we and the-rest remained-they  
 "We went and the rest remained."  
 d.1. ?iHna ruHna ?amma il-bā?i fa Dallu  
 we went-we as-for the-rest so remained-they  
 "We went but as for the rest they remained."

Sentence d.1 indicates contrast. This is shown both by the lower stress on the NP ?iHna--"we" and by the following contrastive particle ?amma . . . fa<sup>s</sup>--"as for . . . so." Sentence c.1 does not indicate contrast; it indicates that "among Z, X (and only X) is Y," according to Kuno. Both the stress and the use of the noncontrastive conjunction w--"and" indicate this. Answer d.1 can be made clearer if we provide a contrastive element in the immediate environment.

This can be

3. ?ēsh Sār ba9dēn rāH-u r-ru?asa  
 what happened next went-they the-presidents  
 d.2. ?iHna lli ruH-na  
 we who went-we  
 "It is us (we) who went (not the presidents)."

Answer a, as indicated above, can also be an answer to "what happened next?" When it is, however, it indicates that the discourse before it has come to a standstill, i.e., the listener is unable to predict what will come next. The speaker will come out with a new "move" in the discourse, including new referents ("new" in terms of Kuno, 1972:272). One can imagine an environment for such a situation like

4. Tayyeb ?ēsh Sār ba9dēn  
 well what happened next  
 "Well (things up until now are understood, but I  
 cannot predict the next step), what happened next?"

Here, the speaker answers the listener's question (4) by telling the new unpredictable "happening," a.

The reason for the above four possibilities of answers to Kuno's questions can be discussed here. In the way I see them, they stem from the nature of that question. To ask "what happened next?" assumes that we already know what happened before. This can be seen from the invalidity of sentence A:1 as an answer to such a question. Unless we have been enumerating dates, the time adverbial at the beginning of A:1 would not be part of a series of such time referents; some of them are expected to have been already indicated to the listener, and more is to be given to him/her.

This shows the importance Kuno's treatment attaches to the initial NP in its sentence. The relation between anaphoricity as a concept for the lexical item in the discourse, and old-new information as the "semantic relation which the lexical items enter in the given sentence" (1972:272) proves to be of great importance in identifying the role of the initial NP. Although I tend to agree here with Kuno's understanding of anaphoricity as a binary relation, depending on the previous discourse, I find it does not apply to old-new in the sense he suggests. Old-new has to be seen in terms of both the speaker's and the listener's shared background on the one hand, and the relation the NP has both with the context and any other member(s) of its group in the

same text on the other hand. If these factors are taken into consideration, old-new, I maintain, cannot be of a binary relationship. But in order for this relationship to be seen, the text has to be the domain of analysis. Old-new would then be seen as a graded property. This, I maintain, will shed more light on the role that the initial NP plays in its sentence.

Kuno also uses the notions of "predictable theme" and "unpredictable theme" (1975:272). Although I agree with his treatment of the NP in such terms, I do not endorse the binary relation between them. The fact that Kuno distinguishes four kinds of NP initials contradicts seeing predictability as binary. But this is just another manifestation of mixing levels of analysis (cf. Keenan & Schiefflin, 1976, on a unified approach to theme in discourse). Answers b-d show, in my opinion, a graded property of predictability. This graded property of predictability is important in that it affects the way the speakers order the elements in their utterance. If we want to apply it to the answers a-d, we can recognize the following hierarchy from the most to the least predictable: QV > NFV > NPV > VNP.

Kuno equates the "unpredictable theme" with "contrastive theme" (1975:272). Having applied this to PA, I find that such equation is not necessarily valid. NPs of "exhaustive listing" and "neutral description" may also be "unpredictable," even in Kuno's understanding of them as being "new." This contradiction, in my opinion, can only be solved if we view predictability as gradable.

The above suggestion would bring Kuno's concept of "predictable theme" and "unpredictable theme" to its full utility. Ga in Japanese could then be seen to mark an "unpredictable theme." The noun itself can be a clause subject, but the two are not the same. The semiotic or communicative function of theme must be kept distinct from the structural or syntactic relation of subject. Each initial NP will, then, be seen in terms of one level of analysis, that of communication as either a "predictable theme" or an "unpredictable theme," be it "exhaustive listing," "contrastive," or "new."

#### 3.4 The Arab Grammarians

Traditional Arab grammarians<sup>7</sup> (AGs) would consider sentence A:1 to have a deleted theme. The AGs recognize two basic sentence types in Arabic; one initiated by the verb, and one initiated by a noun. A sentence initiated by the verb cannot have its NP deleted because there will be no anaphoric pronoun 9a?id<sup>8</sup> left to indicate that the noun is deleted. For the AGs, only the theme of the sentence can be deleted.<sup>9</sup> The following examples from FA/SA (see page 32) illustrate their analysis. If we have the question

1. mādhā<sup>10</sup> fa9ala l-?awlād-u  
    what did the-boys-nom.  
    "What did the boys do?"

the answers can be

2. ja?a l-?awlād-u  
    came the-boys-nom.  
    "The boys came."
3. ?al-?awlād-u jā?-ū  
    the-boys-nom. came-they  
    "The boys came."

We have seen that for SA the criterion for deletion is basically the surfacing of the pronoun affix.<sup>11</sup> In PA, as seen above, this is not a factor. The noun, both preceding and following the verb can be deleted. The pronoun affix is present in the structure of the verb whether the verb is initial or not. The AGs consider the affixed pronoun anaphoric to the (deleted) noun. Thus, if the treatment of the AGs is applied, both nouns must be themes in PA, since only the theme can be deleted (Ar-Rajihi, 1975:391).

On the other hand, if ?al-mubtada? means literally "what is begun with," then the prepositional phrase of sentence A:1 would be expected to be the theme. Thus, the AGs and the functionalists discussed so far would agree on the theme of sentence A:1. The PP which the sentence begins with has been considered to be the theme in Halliday's, Daneš's, and Firbas's treatments as well as in Chafe's 1976 paper. The AGs, however, do not seem to give us this leeway. Their definition of theme can be summarized as follows (Ar-Rajihi, 1975: 97; As-Sayyed, 1975:180; An-Najjar, N.D.:361; Al-Hashimi, 1354H<sup>12</sup>:104; Abdul-Hamid, 1936:180; Abdul-Hamid, 1974:117).

- 1) It is a noun (or noun phrase),
- 2) It is definite (known),<sup>13</sup>
- 3) It is in the nominative case,
- 4) It is the entity that the "rheme" (?al-xabar--"the news") is a judgement about,
- 5) It is linked with the rheme by an anaphora (9ā?id) which agrees with it in number and gender,

- 6) It is what the sentence is initiated with, and
- 7) It is the basic part of the nominal sentence and is not deleted unless it is present in the mind and an indication of its existence is left after its deletion (Ar-Rajihi, 1975:81).

Using this definition in analyzing sentence A:1, we find that the PP cannot be the theme.

Yet, all the above points except 3 are clues for indicating the theme in PA. This is apparent if we consider the clause in A:1 without the PP. The AGs discuss the theme in terms of a known initial noun which can be deleted. The deletion of the theme depends, for them, on its degree of knownness<sup>14</sup> (Ar-Rajihi, 1975:91; As-Sayyed, 1975:18; An-Najjar, N.D.: 361). Thus, using the AGs's analysis, the theme of sentence A:1 must be the deleted pronoun ʔiHna--"we," an anaphora of which is affixed to the verb in the form of -na--"we." This is confirmed when we consider the hierarchy the AGs proposed for the knownness of the personal pronouns: first person > second person > third person > (Al-Hashimi, 1974:81).<sup>15</sup> This characteristic of the pronoun ʔiHna "we" of being the highest in the hierarchy of knownness validates its deletion. This deletion itself puts it on the top of the hierarchy of nominal knownness for Arab grammarians. Both factors validate considering the deleted pronoun ʔiHna instead of the PP as the theme of sentence A:1.

But, if we want to apply this criterion, both pre and postverbal nouns in PA, then, must be considered as themes



since both nouns can be deleted. This obliges the analyst to look for the kind of theme each noun conveys, instead of analyzing each as a theme for one and a subject for the other.

But does this mean that the NP following the verb in PA is not to be analyzed as a subject? Indeed, for the AGs, the nondeletable initial NP is called ?al-fā9al-- "the doer." As such, it can be seen that, for the AGs as well as for Kuno, the function of the initial NP is analyzed from different levels. When applying Kuno's analysis, I suggested that the NP be analyzed one level at a time before the relationship between the levels can be accounted for. If this is to be done, the NP following the verb can be considered as the new unpredictable theme on the communicative level, and ?al-fā9al-- "the doer" on the semiotic level. This analysis can be applied to PA as well as to SA.

An objection could be raised here in terms of the difference in structure between PA and SA, i.e., that while the initial verb in SA does not have an affixed pronoun, and thus the NP following it cannot be deleted, the verb initial in PA does have an affixed pronoun, and thus the deletion of the NP in PA is possible. But this can be accounted for if we consider initial NPs as themes and consider the communicative roles of these themes in terms of their predictability. Then, both the deletable NP and the affixed pronoun (in PA), and the nondeletable NP and the lack of an affixed pronoun (in SA) have to be seen in terms of the varieties of Arabic analyzed.

Since Standard Arabic is a formal language, it is less tied to the environment than colloquial PA (see chapter two on the characteristics of each). Thus, while the environment is more present in a colloquial language, in a formal language it is much less present. This brings another angle to anaphoricity and predictability. In such a case, the postverbal NP in SA will be lower on the hierarchy of predictability than the postverbal NP in PA. The deletability of a postverbal NP in SA is impossible because it renders an ambiguous referent, while the deletability of such an NP in PA is possible due to the existence of the affixed pronoun.

The discussion above calls for a revision in my analysis of the theme in PA in terms of its being a deletable NP, as was suggested by the AGs. I have already suggested that all initial NPs be seen as kinds of themes in their sentences. I suggested four kinds of such themes in terms of the hierarchy of their predictability. The theme NP can precede or follow the verb in Arabic; the theme NP can be stated or deleted. Thus, deletability of an NP does not determine its thematicity, as I suggested earlier when applying the AGs' analysis to sentence A:1. Instead, the deletability of an NP indicates the level of its predictability.

Standard Arabic employs the presence/absence of the pronoun affix to indicate the two extreme levels of predictability and nonpredictability. In contrast, Palestinian Arabic keeps the pronoun affix in both cases and employs other morphosyntactic factors to indicate the communicative role the

initial NP plays in its sentence. But this technique is not apparent in PA if the sentence is the domain of analysis. Palestinian Arabic, a colloquial dialect, is very much tied to the environment. Both text and context have to be accounted for in its analysis in order to understand its morphosyntactic rules. Such an account will be undertaken in chapter six when the whole text will be taken into consideration in the analysis. Word order, deletability, etc. will be better accounted for then.

### 3.5 Conclusion

There are considerable analytical similarities among the different linguistic schools discussed above. I showed, however, that applying their various analyses of theme to sentence A:1 produces conflicting results. The PS linguists and Chafe (1976) would consider the adverbial phrase initiating that sentence to be the theme. Kuno and the AGs would disagree and say that the deleted NP is the theme. I showed that the PS' analysis was incorrect because of 1) the lack of an objective criterion for assigning the theme of the sentence, and 2) the unfeasibility of the sentence as the domain for such assignment. I also showed the conflict in Chafe's work between his 1976 paper, which would determine the theme of sentence A:1 to be the initial PP, and his 1973 and 1974 papers, which would not. Furthermore, I showed that, if Firbas's notion of CD were applied pragmatically to Text A, the verbal clause of sentence A:1 would also be considered the theme.

I have found Chafe's 1973 and 1974 papers illuminating. Incorporating their concepts in my analysis of sentence A:1, I determined that the theme of sentence A:1 must be the deleted NP. Both Kuno and the AGs agree with this analysis.

Kuno's approach also proved important in the treatment of an initial NP. I suggested some modifications to his treatment, i.e., not mixing levels of analysis and considering his notion of predictability in terms of a hierarchy instead of binary. Kuno's analysis, especially his notion of predictability, proved helpful in identifying the initial NPs of a sentence as themes with levels of predictability. Thus, I suggested a continuum from a deleted NP for a known-predictable theme at one extreme to a new-unpredictable theme at the other extreme, which can be illustrated as follows:

Known-predictable theme ↔ New-unpredictable theme

QV ↔ VNP.

This analysis also proved important when I applied the treatment of the AGs. For the AGs, the deletable NP is the theme, while the nondeletable NP is the subject (or the doer of the action). Since my concern is not to mix levels of analysis, I suggested that all initial NPs be considered in terms of their communicative roles as themes, with varying degrees of predictability for each. As such, I considered the postverbal NP in an Arabic sentence to be a "new-unpredictable" theme. This, I suggested, applies to both PA and SA. If this is done, one of the important factors in the deletability of a noun for the AGs, i.e., the presence

of a pronoun affix becomes of minor importance in the thematic role of the NP. The pronoun affix indicates predictability, which is higher for PA and lower for SA. The absence of the affixed pronoun in SA when the NP follows the verb is a marker for the highest level of unpredictability. Thus, the NP in such an environment in SA cannot be deleted.

In both varieties of Arabic, the postverbal NP is a new-unpredictable theme and therefore must be present. However, I showed (examples 2.1, 3.1, and 4, page 65) that in PA sentences, the NP is deletable. This seeming contradiction is due to applying the communicative concept of theme to isolated sentences. Colloquials are intimately bound to their environment, yet this sentential analysis of theme completely ignores environment. We need to consider the whole text in its real environment to determine whether NPs are deletable. I will do this in chapter five and chapter six.

I am, however, aware that the above proposed alterations to Kuno's analysis has a serious implication for the functionalists' theories about theme. These theories depend on knownness and deletability to identify theme. Even Firbas's concept of CD requires both these characteristics, although he does say the thematic NP can be known or unknown. But the postverbal NP is not necessarily known; it is undeletable; it is not initial and it is the least predictable theme. These properties of the postverbal NP constitute a serious problem for the functionalists.

The problem of the functionalists, as I see it, stems from a lack of an accurate definition of the relationships

between the interlocutors, the analyst and the message in their analysis. Though they rightly define theme as "what we are talking about," they do not specify the domain of the constituents "we," "talk about," or "what" and the relationships between them. They correctly believe "we" to be the interlocutors, but they only consider the point of view of one of the interlocutors, supposedly the speaker, in their analysis. In fact, however, the functionalists really consider that the listener is the analyst. The listener/analyst decides what is "in the mind" of the speaker when he/she utters the utterance. The functionalists do not put the analyst outside both the speaker and the listener to see what each of them presupposes the other knows and what he/she wants to know. This is the basic reason for the nonobjectivity encountered in assigning the theme when their theories were applied to sentence A:1.

The analyst's lack of detachment leads to problems in identifying the area of "talk about" (the message), and consequently "what" (the theme). This nondetachment makes the analyst/listener have several kinds of presuppositions as to what the speaker had in his/her mind. A detached analyst would see only the actual message(s) exchanged by the interlocutors. This would eliminate ambiguous notions in characterizing the theme, such as deleted/deletable constituents, and "point of departure."

The analyst's recognition of the actual message will also result in him/her identifying the theme as a constituent

of the actual message. The identifiable theme may/may not be initial. Any constituent uttered by the speaker and picked up by the listener will then be seen, by the detached analyst, to be the constituent expressing the most important message exchanged by both the speaker and the listener. Other constituents in the message will be expected to be more or less important according to their relationships with the most important one. The most important constituent, for both the speaker and the listener is, then, present in the message, and nondeletable by either of the interlocutors.

The above considerations compel me to do the following.

1. Avoid the treatment of theme as proposed by the PS linguists and the functionalists presented so far,
2. Avoid looking for the theme of the texts through Daneš's proposed TP,
3. Question the validity of the NP as the only constituent that conveys the communicative notion of theme, and see if theme can be the verb, or any other constituent in the message the interlocutors are exchanging, and
4. Find out if an objective way of identifying the theme of the sentence or utterance will help in identifying the theme of the whole text.

The preceding points will be the orientation for the next chapters. In chapter four, I will try to identify the theme in the texts which are my data. I will start on the sentence/utterance level and see if a constituent other than the NP can be considered the theme. I will then apply the result to a sample text.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>I will be using "sentence" and "utterance" interchangeably throughout, unless otherwise indicated by the specific approach of analysis.

<sup>2</sup>Lyons (1978:64) observes that, for most languages, the theme precedes the rheme. Firbas (1974) gives an outline of the psychological treatment that had prevailed until then.

<sup>3</sup>"By the degree of CD carried by a sentence element, we understand as the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication, to which it pushes the communication forward, as it were" (Firbas, 1964:270).

<sup>4</sup>The term functional sentence perspective (FSP) in Mathesius's conception, denotes two phenomena, i.e., (a) the arrangement of the content structure of the sentence, and (b) the connection with the context (Benes, 1968:267).

<sup>5</sup>Halliday does not differ in this sense from the PS linguists. This was also the position of Mathesius, the founder of the Prague School (see Mathesius, 1964:56-63; Halliday, 1974:53).

<sup>6</sup>?amma . . . fa--"as for . . . so" has been treated in the literature, both by Arabs and Arabists to indicate the thematic part of the sentence (Ar-Rajihi, 1975:101; Bubenik, 1979:302; Cowell, 1964:429; Cantarino, 1975:455; Beeston, 1970:63). My observation, however, has been that it is basically of a contrastive function (cf. Chafe, 1976).

<sup>7</sup>By the Arab grammarians (AGs), I am referring to both the ancient and the modern ones. Arab grammarians are the ones who started coding the system of Arabic when Islam started to spread and there was the need to read the Quran, the Holy Book of Islam. The first recorded analysis that has reached us is that of Ad-du?ali (died 690 A.D.) and Sibawayh (died 810 A.D.). The analysis of the early Arab grammarians is still the basis for modern treatments of Arabic, by both Arab analysts and Arabists (cf. Wright, 1964; Beeston, 1970; Chejne, 1969; Stetkavych, 1970). As for modern Arab analysts, they have mostly been concerned with reproducing the manuscripts of the early Arab grammarians that are being discovered in the museums of Western capitals. Further explanations have been done by Western linguists. Bakir (1980), who applies modern Western transformational generative approaches to the Arabic sentence, considers these Western treatments to be "naive as compared to the treatments of the early Arab grammarians."

<sup>8</sup>Arab grammarians elaborated on the kinds of "links" in the "nominal sentence." Most important they found, is the,



personal pronoun (Al-Hashimi, 1974:136; Abdul-Hamid, 1961:116; Ar-Rajihi, 1975:77; As-Sayyed, 1975:177).

<sup>9</sup>Arab grammarians greatly elaborated on the difference between the "subject" status of the NP, and its role as a "theme." Their observations can be summed up in the following points (see Ar-Rajihi, 1975:64, 84; An-Najjar, N.D.:361; Abdul-Hamid, 1936:158, 179; Abdul-Hamid, 1974:64, 84; Al-Hashimi, 1974:113, 125; Abdul-Hamid, 1975:117; As-Sayyed, 1975:172).

1. The theme initiates the sentence; the subject does not.
2. The subject occurs only in a sentence containing a verb; the theme occurs in a verbless sentence, too.
3. The theme precedes the verb in a verbal sentence; the subject follows it.
4. The subject ?alfa9el is so linked with the verb ?al-fi9l that it can be cliticized to it; the theme is not so linked with the verb..
5. The theme is outside the scope of the verb, and is linked with it by a rabit--"link" or 9a?ed--"anaphora" (the first is used when there is a relative clause, the second elsewhere).
6. The theme must be known; not necessarily so the subject.
7. The subject is the doer of the action. The theme is the entity under discussion.

<sup>10</sup> dh is a voiced dental/alveolar. It is not used in PA anymore.

<sup>11</sup> Modern Western linguistic analysis calls such cases "subject-verb agreement," though languages such as Arabic and Spanish are considered "subjectless" (Perlmutter, 1971:108 ff.). The Arab grammarians call them ?aDDamir il-muttaSel--"the affixed pronoun."

<sup>12</sup> H means Hijri; it is the first year of the Islamic calendar (622 A.D.).

<sup>13</sup> Sibawayh (died 810 A.D.) gives the following hierarchy for knownness: a concealed noun → a proper noun → demonstratives → the definite article → genitive constructions (Abdul-Hamid, 1961:707).

<sup>14</sup> Here, I cannot but note the similarity to Daneš's degrees of knownness. Firbas's notion of DC and Chafe's levels of

memory, both of which are graded rather than binary, have been discussed earlier.

<sup>15</sup> Modern linguists have given similar hierarchies (see Zubin, 1979; Kuno, 1975:322; 1976:432; Givon, 1976:152).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE TEXT-APPROACH TO THE THEME: A SAMPLE TEXT

#### 4.1 Introduction

Sentence A:1 will be treated again in an endeavor to find out what its theme is, without recourse to preconceived ideas about theme.

fi 9ashara sitte ruHna nzūr        ?axūy fi s-sijen  
in ten six went-we we-visit brother-my in the-prison  
maHkūm 9alē 9ishrin sane  
sentenced on-him twenty year  
"On June 10 we went to visit my brother in prison (who  
is) sentenced for twenty years."

The above sentence was not uttered in a vacuum. It was uttered to a listener who, we expect, was not only willing to listen, but has also asked/will ask for "some" information. The information required depends also on the position of the listener-speaker in the speech act, i.e., it depends on who initiates the speech act. If the speaker gives sentence A:1 to the listener and stops, we would expect the listener to turn away and not listen, or, if he/she decides to listen, we would expect him/her to cooperate with the speaker in asking more specific information (due to inattentiveness, more interest, etc.) about the constituents of the message in A:1. Any of the following questions could be asked by the listener, for specific information concerning the message given in A:1.

1. ?ēmta ruH-tu 9a s-sijen  
when went-you to the-prison  
"When did you go to the prison?"
2. mīn rāH 9a s-sijen  
who went to the-prison  
"Who went to the prison?"
3. lēsh ruH-tu 9a s-sijen  
why went-you to the-prison  
"Why did you go to the prison?"
4. wēn ruH-tu  
where went-you  
"Where did you go?"
5. ruH-tu t- zūr -u mīn fi s-sijen  
went-you you-visit-pl. who in the-prison  
"Who did you go to visit in the prison?"
6. mālō ?ax -ūki  
what-m. brother-your  
"What (is it) about your brother?"

Each of the above is a possible specific point the listener is enquiring about in a message already given to him/her. The information required for each of these questions is already stated in sentence A:1. The answer to question 1 is the adverbial phrase of time. The answer to question 2 is the NP ?iHna--"we," which did not surface as a full NP in sentence A:1. Its anaphora, the agreement suffix -na--"we" is a substitute for it. The answer to question 3 is the clause ruHna nzūr ?axūy--"we went to visit my brother." The answer to question 4 is the adverb of place fi s-sijen--"in the prison." The answer to 5 is the NP ?axūy--"my brother" and the answer to 6 is the participial clause maH-kūm 9alē 9ishrīn sane--"sentenced for twenty years."

Each of the preceding is the specific information the listener is seeking, and is provided in the message given in

sentence A:1 as one of its constituents. Each of these answers is "what" the interlocutors, both of them together, are interested in and talk about (one in seeking information and the other in providing it). Thus, each of the above answers is the theme of that instance of communication.

The above, however, applies to a situation where a message has already been given to the listener, who then needs more specific information about people, acts, things, places, etc. We also notice that the above answers to the specific questions are short answers. None of them extends beyond the confines of carrying the information needed. The reason of course is that the rest of the information is already stated in the sentence (A:1) given, which forms the background for the listener's search for specific information.<sup>1</sup>

Another situation arises when the listener initiates the communicative event by asking a question. In this case, some background is expected to trigger the listener's question. This leads us to the question that was asked to the speakers of Texts A, B, C, D, and E whose theme is to be found out. The question was ʔēsh Sār--"what happened?"

Sentence A:1 of Text A was only one part of the answer to this question. The whole text was the answer. Here, we have a situation different from the specific questions given by the listener after the speaker gave the message in A:1. We, of course, do not expect the listener to internalize all the information the speakers give (some gave up to two pages of transcribed discourse, others up to eight, see Appendix).

Each speaker might have hoped that the listener would internalize all the message he/she is giving. But we all know (and research in psychology has shown) that this is impossible. The listener will only pick the most important information he/she is asking for and interested in from the whole message and leave the rest alone.

Let us first try to see if the listener can find the information he/she is seeking in sentence A:1 alone. If we can find that, then we can try to apply the same technique to the rest of the text.

The listener initiated the communicative event by asking ʔēsh Sār-- "what happened?" He/she would then consider each of the constituents of this sentence, in an attempt to pick out the information he/she is seeking. We will go over each of the constituents to see which, if any, fits as an answer to the sought after information.

1. \*    fi 9ashara sitte  
      in ten        six    "On June ten"
2.    ruH-na  
      went-we        "we went"
3. \*    nzūr  
      we-visit        "(to) we visit"
4. \*    ʔaxū-y  
      brother-my      "my brother"
5. \*    fi s-sijen  
      in the-prison    "in the prison"
6. \*    maHkūm    9al-ē  
      sentenced on-him "he (is) sentenced"
- 2.1    ruH-na    n-zūr  
      went-we we-visit "we went to visit"

- 2.2    ruH-na n- zūr    ?axū -y  
          went-we we-visit brother-my  
          "We went to visit my brother."
- 2.3    ruH-na n- zūr    ?axū -y fi    s-sijen  
          went-we we-visit brother-my in the-prison  
          "We went to visit my brother in prison."
- 2.4    ruH-na n- zūr    ?axū -y fi    s-sijen  
          went-we we-visit brother-my in the-prison  
          maHkum    9al- e    9ishrin sane  
          sentenced on -him twenty year  
          "We went to visit my brother in prison (who is)  
          sentenced for twenty years."

We notice that, although the first six answers were appropriate when specific information was sought by the listener (questions 1-6, page 79), here, none of these answers is appropriate except the verb. It is not, however, any form of verb that is appropriate as an answer; it is the perfective<sup>2</sup> verb (2). The imperfective verb (3) could not stand as an answer to the sought after information. Thus we can say that the perfective verb is the only constituent that provides the information sought by the given question ?ēsh Sār--"what happened?" The perfective verb can stand alone as an answer (2), or it can take other constituents subordinated to it (2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4).

Before deciding on the eligibility of the perfective verb as the constituent to provide the needed information in sentence A:1 (and thus apply that for the whole text), we need to verify the above findings from other sentences of the text and outside the text.

If we take a sentence from Text A where no perfective verb occurs, and try to see if it can stand as an answer to the question ?ēsh Sār, we find that it cannot, e.g.,

\* w ?iHna rāyH-īn la z-zyāra ?āxer bās bās-na (A:3)  
 and we going-pl. to the-visit last bus bus-our  
 "And while we were going to the visit our bus was the  
 last."

Sentence A:3 cannot be an answer to the question given. One explanation could be that sentence A:3 has no perfective verb. Another explanation is that it does not initiate the discourse. So, we need to check a sentence with a perfective verb which does not initiate the discourse. Sentences A:5 and A:6 will be given as an answer to the question now.

nizl-u majmū9a shāf-u n-nās b - i -  
 went-they group saw-they the-people Ind.-they-  
 Sawwt-u w b - i -9ayyt-u  
 shout-pl. and Ind.-they-cry -pl.  
 "A group went down and saw the people shouting and  
 crying."

The above two sentences do not begin the discourse, yet, they can be legitimate answers to the given question. Both of them are initiated by a perfective verb the same as the clauses numbered (2) of sentence A:1 above.

Another noninitial sentence, however, includes a perfective verb (A:4), but cannot be an answer to the question "what happened?"

fa nzil-na min-no (A:4)  
 so went-we from-it  
 "So we went down from it."

The reason for the inability of this perfective verb to be an answer to the question resides not in itself, but in its context and its relationship with the rest of the discourse. fa--"and thus" is a conjunct. It has to conjoin the perfective to another perfective for the verb to be thematic, but it does not. The clause before it has no verb; it is an



equational sentence. Furthermore, this clause (A:4) is tied to the equational sentence preceding it by the anaphoric pronoun -o--"it." Equational sentences have no verb, and thus they cannot be thematic material (hereafter, TM). Therefore, the clause (A:4), being tied to a nonthematic clause, is nonthematic material (hereafter, NTM). The perfective verb, however, if taken out of its sentence in A:4, can stand as an answer to the question, i.e.,

nzil-na (A:4)  
went-we  
"We went down."

But does this mean that the perfective verb alone can stand as the answer to the given question? With 2 and A:4, I suggested that it could. Since Text A does not include clauses of which the perfective is the only constituent, we need to resort to cases where the perfective is not part of a clause. An example from life can show this. If one comes to a situation where a baby is crying and asks the question ?ēsh Sār, the answer can be

3. wi?ə9  
fell  
"(He) fell."

The perfective verb wi?ə9 conveys the full information needed in this context.

The above discussion shows that the perfective verb is the basic constituent that carries the information sought by the question "what happened?" The information can contain only the verb (example 3), or the perfective plus other constituents. But, in any case, it is the perfective verb that is basic in carrying the information. The perfective

verb, in other words, indicates "what" the interlocutors (together) are talking about in this kind of context. The perfective verb carries the theme of such discourse.

The above analysis has support in the literature. Paul Hopper (1977, 1979) has applied the procedure of finding the minimal generalization or precis of narrative texts in several languages by tracing the occurrence of the perfective verb<sup>3</sup> (he calls it "foregrounding"). He also points to the use of the imperfective verb (calling it "backgrounding"). First, I will give a general review of Hopper's analysis, and then I will apply the procedure of these findings to Text A through tracing the occurrence of the perfective verb in that text.

#### 4.1.1 P. Hopper

Hopper analyzes text in terms of a producer and a receiver cooperating in the speech act. He believes that the speaker guides the listener, through the use of tense and aspect, into the most important and the less important information presented in the text. For him

the aspects pick out the main route through the text and allow the listener (reader) to store the actual events of the discourse as a linear group while simultaneously processing accumulations of commentary and supportive information which add texture but not substance to the discourse itself. (1979:220)

Hopper calls the commentary part "backgrounding," where the imperfective occurs. He applies his procedure of finding the foregrounded and backgrounded clauses to several unrelated languages (Malay, Tagalog, Old English, Russian, French).

- . The results make him see foregrounding vs. backgrounding as universal (1977:61; 1979:213). He proposes a typology of morphosyntactic devices for each process. The morphosyntactic devices all hinge on their function to indicate the perfective and imperfective. Thus, he outlines their characteristics in the following way.

### Perfective

- \*Strict chronological sequencing
- \*View of event as a whole, whose completion is a necessary prerequisite to a subsequent event
- \*Dynamic, kinetic events
- \*Foregrounding--event indispensable to narrative
- \*Identity of subject within each discrete episode
- \*Unmarked distribution of focus in clause, with pre-supposition of subject and assertion in verb and its immediate complements (or other unmarked focus)

### Imperfective

- \*Simultaneity or chronological overlapping of situation C with event A and/or B
- \*View of situation or happening whose completion is not a necessary prerequisite to a subsequent happening
- \*Static, descriptive situations
- \*Backgrounding--state or situation necessary for understanding motives, attitudes, etc.
- \*Frequent change of subject
- \*Marked distribution of focus, e.g., subject focus, instrument focus, focus of sentence adverbial.

(1977:61; 1979:216)

Hopper found that by thus following the clauses where the perfective occurs, we can have "a precis of the story or novel" (1977:78). (The above statement is made about French. The precis for texts in other languages is not mentioned.)<sup>4</sup>

In this chapter, I will apply Hopper's technique of finding out the foregrounded material (or TP in Daneš's terms) of a sample PA text. I call it the "thematic material (TM)." I will find out the clauses where the perfective occurs. A sample of the TM will be given from one of the PA texts. I will give a frequency count of the verbs of the sample text

for the whole text and for the thematic material (TM) and nonthematic material (NTM). The procedure of finding the TM will then be discussed, together with the problems that arose. This will be followed by an observation of whether the TM of this sample text can also be treated as a precis of the whole text or not. I will also analyze the linguistic factors that lead to such a decision using Halliday and Hasan's (1976) notion of "cohesion." The characteristics of each of these constituents of the TM (and the NTM, though only for comparison) will be the subject matter of the next chapter.

#### 4.2 The TM: A Sample

Text A will be presented below, with its morphemes glossed. The clauses of the TM of Text A will be traced through the occurrence of the perfective. The TM clauses will be underlined. The perfective verbs of the clauses will be double-underlined. A translation into English will be provided after the text is given. The English rendering of the PA perfective verbs will also be underlined.

The perfective verb has the form of a stem and a suffix, e.g., ruH-na--"went-we." The imperfective has three forms indicating the three moods<sup>5</sup>.

- 1) Indicative:    b    -    i                    -rāwwH-u  
                  Ind.-3rd pers.- go   -pl.  
                  "They (usually) go."
- 2) Subjunctive:                    y                    -rāwwH-u  
   3rd pers.- go   -pl.  
   "(That) they go."
- 3) Imperative:    rāwwH-u  
   go    -(you, pl.)  
   "Go!"

## 4.2.1 Text A

(1) fi 9ashara sitte ruH-na n-zūr ?ax -ūy fi s-  
on 10 six went-we we-visit brother-my in the-

sijen (2) maHkum 9al-ē 9ishrIn sane. (3) w ?iHna  
prison imprisoned on-him 20 year and we

rāyH -In la z-zyāra ?āxer bāS bāS-na (4) fa nzil -na  
going-pl. to the-visit last bus bus-our so got off-we

min-no (5) nizl -u majmū9a (6) shāf-u n-nās  
from-it got off-they group saw-they the-people

b-i-Sawwt-u w b-i-9ayyT-u (7) nizl -na ?iHna  
- - shout-pl. and - - cry -pl. got off-we we

(8) il-wāHād ya9ni ma-.b-i-tHammal-sh (9) bidd-o y-i-  
the-one that is neg. - - endure -neg. want-he - -

s?al lēsh b-i-9ayyt-u (10) nizl -u majmū9a min il-  
ask why - - cry -pl. got off-they group from the-

baS w sa?al-u (11) w illa<sup>6</sup> b-i-?ul- ū -l -hom b-i-  
bus and asked-they and-thus - - say-pl.-to-them - -

rush -shu 9alē-hom Gāzāt sāmm -e w ?atal- ū -hom  
spray-pl. on -them gases poisonous-f. and beat-they-them

w ?ishi (12) ?aj-at il-majmū9a lli kānat zāyr -  
and something came-she the- group that was visiting-

e mish zāyr -In humme bas fāt -u juwwa 9ind  
f. neg. visiting-pl. they only entered-they inside by

wlād-hom (13) w -illa bi - Tal9it -hom barra  
sons-their and-when with-getting out-their outside

sa?al-t-hom (14) fut -et juwwa ?ana mni is-sijen w  
asked-I-them went in-I inside I from the-jail and

juwwa (15) w b-a-s?al fi-hom (16) b-a-?ul-l -hom mal-  
inside and - I-ask in-them - I-say-to-them what-

kom b-it-9ayyT-u w b-it-Sawwt-u (17) fa ?axbar-ū -  
your - - cry -pl. and - - shout-pl. thus told -they-

na ?in-hom mazlum -In (18) w fī ?istibdād w fī  
us that-they oppressed-pl. and there autocracy and their

ya9ni fī diktātōriyye (19) fī Hālet zulum  
means there dictatorship their situation oppression

ya9ni (20) fa ?al- ū -l -hom bid-nā-sh zyārit-kom  
means so told-they-to-them want-we-neg. visit -your

(21) bid-na bas tu-sh9ur-u ma9-na (22) w t-ish9ir-u  
want-we only - feel -pl. with-us and - inform-pl.

d -duwal il -barra ?inno ?iHna mazlum -In juwwa bi  
the-states that-outside that we oppressed-pl. inside in

s-sijen (23) w ma - 9in-n-āsh ?ay Ha? b- a - 9T -  
the-jail and neg.-with-we-neg. any right - they-give-

ū -na yyā (24) fa ?ana hōn wa??af-et (25) w Sur -  
pl.-us it thus I here stood -I and started-

t ?a-bki fi s-sijen (26) li ?anno ?ax -ūy Sār l -i  
I I-cry in the-jail because brother-my became for-me

zamān ma -shuf-t- o -sh w ?ish (27) ?aj-at  
time neg.-saw -I-him-neg. and something came-she

yahndiyy-ē w Sār -at ti-HKi -l-i shu māl -  
Jew -f. and started-she she-speak-to-me what situation-

ek (28) ?axbar-t-ha ?ana ?inno masalan lēsh bid-nā-sh  
your told -I-her I that example why want-we-neg.

n-zūr (29) fa Hak-at -l-i la? hassa b-it- zūr -u  
we-visit so told-she-to-me no how - - visit-pl.

(30) ?ij-u j- juūd w Sār - u yu-Drub-u fī-na  
came-they the-soldiers and started-they - hit -pl. in-us

w yu-?tul-u w y-sibb -u (31) fa ?iHna nafs il-  
and - beat-pl. and - curse-pl. thus we same the-

?ishi mitel mā sab - bu 9alē-na sabb -ena 9ale-hom  
thing like what cursed-they on -us cursed-we on -them

(32) Sār - u yi- HK -u Haki safāle (33) bas ?iHna  
began-they - speak-pl. speech dirty but we

ma -b-ni-?dar-sh n-sib 9alē-hom Haki safāle (34) w  
neg. - - can-neg. - curse on -them speech dirty and

y-sharrT-u w ?ishi (35) Tli? -t la-bāb is-sijen  
- swear -pl. and something went out-I to-door the-jail

barra (36) willa waHd-e shurTiyy-e b-ti-msek fiyy-i w b-  
out when one-f. police -f - - grab in -me and -

it-zu?? fiyy-i (37) fa ?ana mitel mā Darb-at-ni Darab-  
- push in -me so I same what hit-she-me hit -

t-ha (38) w majmū9a min ij- jnūd ?ij-u masak -  
I-her and group from the-soldiers came-they grabbed-

ū -ni min sha9r-i (39) w wāHad masak -ni min raʔbit-  
they-me from hair-my and one grabbed-me from neck -

i bidd-o yu- xnu? -ni (40) w jarr. - ū -ni min  
my want-he - suffocate-me and dragged-they-me from

sha9r-i la 9ind is-sayyara (41) w Sār -u w ʔana  
hair-my to by the-car and started-they and I

ʔā9d -e juwwa s-sayyara lahāli (42) Sār -u yu-  
sitting-f. inside the- car done started-they -

Drub-u fiyy-i w yu-ʔtul-u fiyy-i w y-ʔul-u (43)  
hit-pl. in -me and - beat-pl. in -me and - say-pl.

shū hāda yāser 9arafāt (44) hāda w -alla la  
what this Yaser Arafat this by-God particle of emphasis-

n -HaTīm- o w nu-ʔtul- o (45) w muHammad-kom kazzāb  
we-smash-him and we-kill-him and Mohammad-your liar

(46) w ʔintu kazzab-īn w ʔintu sharamīt (47) w  
and you liar -pl. and you prostitutes and

dāyr -īn b-it- sharamit -u w b-it- ta9riS -u (48)  
roaming-pl. - - prostitute-pl. and - - prostitute -pl.

wale ʔinti manyūk-e (49) ʔinti b-tu-Drub-i lēsh b-tu-Drub-  
you (f) you-f fucked-f you-f - - hit -f why - - hit

i-ha (50) w kul wāHad y-īji bidd-o yi-ftaH il-bāb  
f-her and each one he-come want-he he-open the-door

w bidd-o yu-Drub-ni (51) w ʔana ʔā9d -e laHāli fī -  
and want-he he-hit -me and I sitting-f. alone there-

sh lā 9arab wa-la ʔay wāHad bi-janb-i (52) w  
neg. neg. Arabs and-neg. any one by-side-me and

ba9dēn ʔaxad- ū -ni 9a l-muHākame b-bīr is-sabe9 (53)  
after took -they-me to the- court in-Bir Sheva

w hunāk kull-hom tnaftar-u fiyy-i (54) ma fi -sh  
and there all-them shouted-they in -me neg. there-neg.

ʔay mu9āmale Hasane min-hom (55) Hatta tamm -ēna  
any treatment good from-them until remained-we

wāʔf -īn 9a l-kursi (56) w w w ma9 9ilim  
standing-pl. on the-chair and and and with knowledge-

na b- i -9āml -u l-banāt mu9āmale Hasane (57) lāken  
our - they-treat-pl. the-girls treatment good but

mu9āmale sayy?a Til9 -at kul mu9āmalit-hom (58) w  
treatment bad proved-she all treatment-their and

il-jundiyy -āt yi-tnaftar-u fiyy-i w iy-sibb -u 9ala-  
the-soldiers-f. - shout-pl. in -me and - curse-pl. on -

yyi (59) w il-yahūd hadōl wi?H-Īn (60) hadōl mish  
me and the-Jews those rude-pl. those neg.

m?addab-Īn (61) ?ala-y yi- HK -u (62) fa ba9dēn  
polite -pl. on -me --speak-pl. so after

daxxal - ū -ni 9a is-sijen tamanye w ?arb9Īn sā9a  
made enter-they-me to the-jail 8 and 40 hour

(63) tālet yōm ē jum9a w sabt w il-?aHad  
third day that is Friday and Saturday and the-Sunday

?aTla9 - ū -ni 9a l-muHākame (64) fi l-muHākame nafs  
sent out-they-me to the- court in the- court same

il-?ishi mu9āmalit-hom ?il-na (65) tnaftar- u fī-na  
the-thing treatment-their to-us shouted-they in-us

lamma ?ayyad- ū -na w ?aTla9- ū -na fō? 9a l-muHākame  
when cuffed-they-us and took -they-us up to the- court

(66) w Hakam - u 9ala-yy bi ?iTlā? sarāH -i ma9  
and sentenced-they on -me with freeing freedom-my with

Garāme 9ashar Tālāf shēkel (67) w ish-shabāb il-ma9 -  
bail 10 thousand shekel and the- men who-with-

i ?ajjal - u bi muHākamit -hom (68) w daffa9 - ū -  
me postponed-they in sentencing-them and made pay-they-

hom Garāme (69) w kān nafs il-?ishi ?il-hom muHākame  
them bail and was same the-thing to-them court

bi ?arba9a w 9ishrĪn (70) hāy kul illi HaSal  
in 4 and 20 this all that happened.

#### 4.2.2 Translation

(1) we went to visit my brother in prison on June 10 (2)  
he is imprisoned for twenty years (3) while we were going  
to the visit our bus was the last (4) so we got off it  
(5) a group got off (6) they saw the people shouting and  
crying (7) we got off (8) one cannot endure (9) one wants



to ask why they were shouting (10) a group from the bus went down and asked (11) so they tell them they've been beating them and spraying them with poisonous gases (12) the group that had gone to visit came back without having visited (13) I asked them (14) I went inside the prison (15) and asked them (16) I asked them why they are shouting and crying (17) so they told us that they are oppressed (18) and that there is autocracy and dictatorship (19) there is injustice (20) so they told them "we do not want your visit (21) we only want that you feel with us (22) and you make the world know that we are badly treated inside the prison (23) and that we have no right that they give us" (24) so here I stood up (25) and started crying in the prison (26) because I have not seen my brother for a long time (27) a Jewess came and started asking me what is wrong with me (28) I asked her "why are we not going to visit?" (29) she told me that soon we will visit (30) the soldiers came and started hitting us and fighting with us (31) thus we swore on them as they swore on us (32) they started using obscene words (33) but we cannot use obscene words (34) and they went on threatening and something (35) I went out to the prison door (36) when suddenly a policewoman grabs me and pushes me (37) thus I hit her the way she hit me (38) and a group of the soldiers came and seized me from my hair (39) and one of them grabbed me from the neck wanting to suffocate me (40) and they dragged me from my hair to the car (41) and while I was sitting inside the car by myself (42) they started beating me and hitting me and saying (43) "what is this

Yasser Arafat? (44) we promise to kill him and smash him (45) your prophet Muhammad is a liar (46) and you are liars and prostitutes (47) and you are going around prostituting (48) you! you are fucked (49) you hit, why do you hit her?" (50) and everyone comes wanting to open the door and hit me (51) and I was sitting alone, no Arabs beside me (52) then they took me to the court in Beersheeba (53) and there they all shouted at me (54) there was no good treatment from them (55) we remained standing by the chair (56) and although we have been informed that they treat women nicely (57) but it was a bad treatment (58) and the women soldiers were shouting at me and cursing me (59) and the Jews they are very rude (60) they are not polite (61) they were speaking against me (62) then they took me to the prison for 48 hours (63) the third day, i.e., Friday, Saturday and Sunday, they took me to the court (64) in the court they gave us the same treatment (65) they shouted at us when they cuffed us and when they took us to the court (66) and they sentenced me by releasing me and making me pay a bail of ten thousand shekel (67) and as for the men with me, they postponed judging them (68) and made them pay a bail (69) and there was also a court for them on the twenty-fourth (70) this is all what happened.

#### 4.3 A Frequency Count of the Verbs of Text A

I will give below a frequency count of the verbs in Text A, their distribution in the TM and the NTM, and a count of the perfectives and imperfectives.

As indicated in the last section, there are only two forms of the verb in PA (and Arabic), a suffixed one and a

prefixed one. The suffixed one is the perfect/perfective, and the prefixed one (indicative, subjunctive, or imperative) is the imperfect/imperfective one. The perfect/perfective function of the suffixed verb, together with its other function, will be the point of discussion in chapter five.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>TM</u>	<u>NTM</u>
Verbs	105	40	65
Perfective	45	30	15
Imperfective	60	10	50

The preceding count, which I made by tracing the occurrence of the perfective verb, gives an idea about the verbs characterizing the TM, the NTM and the text. However, the process of tracing the TM was difficult because the perfective verb does not necessarily and exclusively carry the TM. There occur perfectives which, intuitively, do not seem to belong to the TM; indeed, they disrupt the flow and cohesion of the TM. Since these perfective verbs are half as many as those used in the constituents clearly identified as TM, I had to decide whether to give up applying the procedure, or to continue with the help of the intuitive impressions of a layperson and then later take the position of the linguist and find out the reasons that some perfectives are used in the TM/NTM. I decided on the latter.

In the following sections, I will explain through examples the procedure I followed in tracing the TM. I will then discuss the problems that arose during the process, and their possible solutions.

#### 4.4 Procedure of Analysis

##### Example 1

The TM clause in the first sentence of Text A is underlined. I chose this clause because of the occurrence of the perfective verb ruH-na--"we went." Indeed, the choice could have rested on the verb alone since, in conjunction with the agreement suffix -na, it constitutes a proposition on its own. Thus, and as I also explained in the introduction to this chapter, the verb can stand alone as the theme of this sentence.

But, I also included other constituents of the above sentence in the TM. The reason for the choice was the more or less specification of the activity that the constituents show in relation to the verb. Put in other words, the verb is considered the theme (or nuclear constituent) of sentence A:1; the other constituents stand in a hierarchy of thematicity according to their relationship to the verb. Furthermore, while the choice of the verb by the listener as an answer to the question ?ēsh Sār is obligatory, the choice of other constituents depends on the extent of the background knowledge the listener has about the incident. Thus we can see that even in the TM, there are degrees of thematicity, with the verb (and its agreement suffix) being the "nuclear constituent." Thus, if we consider sentence A:1, we find that only the TM clause (underlined) directly supplies the information the listener is seeking. The PP that initiates the sentence, though it could be important to the speaker,

does not indicate information sought by the listener. Indeed, the speaker seems to know this and thus separated it from the TM clause by a pause.<sup>7</sup> The same pause occurs before the participial clause of sentence A:1 which was considered NTM.

The TM clause, as I mentioned, has one nuclear constituent, the verb (with the affixed pronoun). The other constituents of the clause simply give varying amounts of additional information about the verb. The imperfective nzūr-- "(to) we visit" is the first specification. It indicates the purpose of the activity. The listener might already know that the incident happened during the visit. So, the listener might choose not to include this constituent. The same with the object NP ?axūy-- "my brother," and the specification of the place of the visit s-sijen-- "the prison." These constituents must not be seen on the same level of importance for the listener as the PP initiating the sentence. While the noninclusion of the PP initiating the sentence has to do with its being out of the sphere of the listener's interest at that moment, indicated by the question "what happened?" and not "when . . . ," the constituents of the TM are part of the listener's interest as given in his/her question. Their inclusion/noninclusion (by the analyst) depends on how much background knowledge the analyst expects the listener to have of them, and not lack of interest on the listener's part, as is the case with the PP initiating the sentence.

### Example 2

Sentence A:1 of the text is followed by a participial clause. I considered this clause NTM because of the lack of

a perfective verb. This clause does not "tell" what happened, but it describes some background situation to what was happening. Thus, it was considered NTM.

#### Example 3

I did not consider reported speech to be TM. In the cases that occurred in these texts, reported speech indicated a background to the activities of the TM. Only the main clause (underlined) is considered TM. The rest is a description of the situation the prisoners are living under. In this case, it adds texture to the text, in Hopper's terms, but does not indicate the events of the story, which constitute the TM.

#### Example 4

I considered equational sentences to be NTM. For example, clauses 59 and 60 are equational sentences. Equational sentences have the form  $X = Y$ . X is an NP and a demonstrative in 59 and 60. Y is an adjective in both clauses. Neither of the two clauses has a verb. Thus, the descriptive, nonevent-advancing nature of these clauses makes them NTM.

### 4.5 Problems Encountered

As shown in the frequency count, not all the perfective verbs were considered TM. One reason that many verbs were not chosen as TM was the of repetition, but it was not the only reason.

Repetition could have its cognitive and pragmatic reasons for the speaker. The listener, however, is interested in a "minimal" generalization of what he/she hears. Thus,

repetitions in the text are against the listener's search for the minimal generalization. In extracting the TM, repetition seemed not only redundant (see also Hopper on repetition), but also illogical. The following example illustrates my point.

Example 1

The perfective verb nzilna--"we got off" is repeated twice at the beginning of the text, in clauses 4 and 7. No verb that indicates "getting in" intervenes between this doubly mentioned activity. The repetition seemed illogical; one cannot get off a bus twice without getting on in between. Thus, I decided that one of the activities must be deleted from the TM.

The decision on which clause to delete is not arbitrary. It has to do with the relationship each clause has with the TM or NTM, i.e., with the perfective and the imperfective clauses. Clause 7 is tied to the TM in clauses 2 and 5 by the verb (and its affixed pronoun). The three all have translocative verbs, and the suffix -na is a submember of -na in 2 and a member with -u in clauses 5 and 7. Clause 4, however, has its ties also with clause 3 which is a constituent of the NTM. No perfective verb occurs in clause 3. It is seen as a commentary on the clause of the TM that precedes it. Clause 4, though has its verb in the perfective, it is tied to NTM clause 3 by means of the pronoun -o--"it," which is a substitute for and thus anaphoric to the noun bāS-na--"our bus" in clause 3. To designate clause 4 as TM means that I needed to also consider clause 3 as TM. Since clause

3 is of a commentary, nonevent-proceeding nature, its incorporation in the TM is seen as contrary to the characteristics of the TM. Clause 4, being thus tied to clause 3, was considered NTM.

Examples other than repetition are:

### Example 2

Clause 11 consists of a main clause and two subordinate clauses which are conjoined by w--"and." Both the verb of the main clause bi?ulul-hom and that of the first subordinated clause birushshu are in the imperfective. The verb of the second subordinated clause, itself conjoined to the one with the imperfective verb, is perfective and seems a distortion of both the time and the aspect (see later on this, in the next chapter) of the whole clause. Since the main clause was considered NTM, its subordinations were also considered NTM, whether the verbs were in the perfective or imperfective.

### Example 3

Sentence 65 has three verbs, all in the perfective. This clause can very well be considered TM. Yet, this clause is tied to a preceding clause, clause 64, which is considered NTM, being an equational sentence. Clause 65 is tied to 64 by the anaphoricity of the three verbs to an abstract noun mu9āmale--"treatment" in 64. In the next chapter, we will see that the TM does not tolerate abstractions. Since these verbs, though perfectives, are tied to a constituent of the NTM, they, like example 4 above, are also considered NTM.



#### Example 4

Three kinds of "linking verbs" (or what is termed by the Arab grammarians kana w ?axawātha--"was and its sisters") occur in the text. Two of these are NTM. These are tammēna wa?fin--55--"we remained standing" and kān neḥs il ?ishi ?il-hom muHākame--69--"there was a court for them, the same way." The third, Sār--26, is TM. The reason that the first two linking verbs tammēna and kān are NTM while the third is TM, stems from the staticity of reference for the first two, and the dynamicity that the third entails. Dynamicity is a major characteristic of the verbs of the TM, as proposed by Hopper, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the preceding paragraphs, I explained the procedure I used to trace the TM, and included a few examples to illustrate the points. I also explained the cases where I did not consider the perfective to be TM. The end result of applying the procedure is that the chosen TM constitutes an intuitively coherent text. The linguistic factors that produce the cohesion of the TM will be treated in the following subsections.

#### 4.6 Cohesion of the TM

The following discussion and analysis, based on Halliday and Hasan (1976), demonstrates the cohesion of the above-derived TM. Each clause of the TM will be indicated by its number. Each tie under discussion will be listed, followed by a translation in English. This will in turn be followed by a specification of its category in the linguistic system of PA, then its cohesive relationship will be described.

Clause 1

-na--"we," first person plural agreement suffix; reference coheres exophorically with the context. It refers to the prisoners's family members, the speaker among them.

-uy--"my," possessive pronoun, anaphoric with -na which acts as its superordinate.

is-sijen--"the prison." The definite article has exophoric reference. It indicates that the item is-sijen is specific and identifiable.

Clause 5

nizl-u--"they got off;" lexical cohesion of the verb (cf. Halliday & Hasan:274 ff., hereafter, H & H). It collocates with the verb in the clause that precedes. Both are translocative verbs (cf. Cowell, 1964:274). Also exophoric reference ties both verbs, i.e., ruHna--"we went" and nzilna--"we got off" indicate the means of transportation used, which is contextually salient, that is, the bus. Going to visit the prisoners indicates a distance, in this case, from a Palestinian town to the prison inside the borders of Israel. Thus, the acts ruHna--"we went" and nzilna--"we got off" are acts in which is included the means of the transportation, the bus in this case, not a taxi or the feet. So both verbs are tied not only by being similar in kind of action, but by nominal ellipses, i.e., the bus, being the means of transportation to the prison.

majmū9a--"a group," nominal, including ellipses (H & H: 147 ff.), expected to be majmū9a minna--"a group from among us." The omitted item is minna--"from (among) us."

### Clause 6

-u--"they," suffix, anaphoric with majmū9a--"group" in clause 5.

in-nas--"the people." The definite article is tied exophorically to the context, indicating a specific recognizable entity, i.e., families, or a group of the prisoners's families.

### Clause 7

nzil-na--"we got off." The verb is a repetition of the one in clause 5; both of them collocate with the verb in clause 1.

?iHna--"we," pronoun anaphoric with -na--"we," indicating a submember of the first -na--"we" in clause 1.

### Clause 10

nizl-u--"they got off." The verb shows a lexical cohesion. It is a repetition of the verb in 7 and 5. All three verbs collocate with the verb in 1. It coheres with them anaphorically.

-u--"they." The suffix is cataphoric with the noun that is immediately following it.

majmū9a min il-bāS--"a group from the bus," lexical cohesion. The noun is synonymous with the same noun in 5 but not a repetition of it. Since no verb intervenes between the two clauses to indicate an opposite activity, such an activity cannot be repeated twice by the same entity. So, the noun here is synonymous to that of 5 and is tied to the inclusive suffix -na--"we" in 1 as a subordinate, and the nouns of 5 and 7 by the same membership,

il-bāS--"the bus." The definite article has exophoric reference. It indicates that the item il-bāS is identifiable from the context.

#### Clause 12

?ij-at--"she came," lexical cohesion. The verb is anaphorically tied to the verbs in 1, 5, 7, and 10 by denoting a similar kind of activity, i.e., all are translocative verbs. This verb, however, indicates the opposite direction of the movement indicated by the previous ones.

-at, agreement affix, governed by the noun that immediately follows it.

il-majmū9a lli kānat zāyre--"the group that was visiting." The noun majmū9a is synonymous with the ones that precedes it in 5 and 10. It, however, is not identical. The definite article together with the relative clause further specifies this noun. It is also tied with the inclusive pronoun -na--"we in clause 1, and all its submembers in clauses 5, 6, 7, and 10.

#### Clause 13

-hom--"them," agreement suffix, anaphoric with il-majmū9a lli kānat zāyre--"the group that was visiting."

#### Clause 17

fa--"thus," conjunction; ties the verb in 13 with the verb of this clause in a cause-effect relationship.

?axbar--"told." The verb collocates with the verb in 13 in a question-answer relationship.

-u--"they," affix, governed by the noun in 12 and the rest of its group members in 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, and 13.

-na--"we," affix governed by -na in 7 and the rest of the nouns indicated so far.

#### Clause 24

fa--"thus, as a result of this," conjunction, ties what precedes with what follows in a cause-effect relationship.

?ana--"I," coheres textually with -na in clause 1 as a submember of the group so far mentioned exophorically with the speaker.

hōn--"here, at this point," adverbial conjunction with a causal tie. It coheres with the extended text that precedes it in a manner of summation of it and preparation for what is to come.

w?if-t--"I stood up," lexical cohesion of the verb with the verbs that preceded it in 1, 5, 7, 10, and 12; the action here is shorter. It indicates the inception of a change of position in preparation for a change of the kinds of events indicated thus far.

-t--"I," the speaker, affix governed by ?ana--"I" in the same clause.

#### Clause 25

w--"and," additive conjunction, ties clauses 24 and 25 in an additive manner.

Sur-t ?a-bki--"I started to cry." Both the suffix -t and the prefix ?a- indicate the first person singular pronoun. -t is suffixed to the perfective and ?a- is prefixed to the imperfective. Both cohere with ?ana in clause 24.

Clause 30

?ij-u--"they came," translocative verb, coheres with the verbs in clauses 1, 5, 7, 10, 12, and 24, and a repetition of the verb in clause 12.

-u--"they," affix governed by the noun that follows it.

ij-jnūd--"the soldiers." The definite article shows the noun to be, exophorically, specific and identifiable.

w Sār-u--"and they started." The w--"and" is an additive conjunction, the -u--"they" is anaphoric with ij-jnūd--"the soldiers." The verb is a repetition of the perfective in clause 25.

yu-?tul-u--"(they) beating (pl.)," verbal ellipsis (see H & H:167 ff.). It coheres with Sār-u--"they started" that precedes it by subordination of the imperfective to the perfective.

-u--"they," affix governed by ij-jnūd--"the soldiers" in the same clause.

w iy-sibb-u--"and they cursing (pl.)," verbal ellipsis of Sār-u.

Clause 31

fa--"thus, consequently," conjunction, ties what precedes it with what follows in a cause-effect relationship.

?iHna--"we," personal pronoun, anaphoric with ij-jnūd--"the soldiers" in an antithetical manner (see H & H:285) and tied to the subjects of the clauses that precede it by the same reference.

nafs il-ʔishi--"in the same way," comparative, tied anaphorically with the last verb in the previous clause and cataphorically with the verbs that follow.

sabb-u--"they cursed," reiteration of the same verb and agent in the preceding clause (30).

sabbē-na--"we cursed," reiteration of the same verb. -na--"we" is tied with -u that precedes it antithetically, and with ʔiHna--"we" by the same reference.

9alē-hom--"on them." The pronoun is tied with ij-jnud in clause 30.

#### Clause 35

Tli9-t--"I went out," translocative verb, tied with the rest of the verbs of this class as being of the same kind of activity; -t--"I," affix tied anaphorically with -na--"we" in 1 and 31, and identical with -t in 13 and ʔana in 24.

#### Clause 36

willā--"and suddenly," a conjunction, tied to what precedes it in a cause-effect relationship and cataphoric with what follows in an "inceptive" manner.

waHde shurTiyye--"a police woman," lexical cohesion, tied with ij-jnūd in 30 as a member of the same group.

btimsek fi-yyi w bitzu?? fi-yyi--"(she) grabs me and pushes me." b- indicates (indicative) mood; -t- --"she" is anaphoric with waHde shurTiyye; iyyi--"me" indicates the speaker; -imsek and -zu??--"grab" and "push" are activities of the same kind, linked successively with w--"and."

### Clause 37

fa--"thus," conjunction, ties what precedes it with what follows in a cause-effect relationship.

?ana--"I," pronoun reference, coheres with the previously mentioned members of the group indicated by the superordinate -na--"we" in clause 1.

mitel ma--"in the same way," comparative, acts as a connector to tie what happened in the previous clause with the acts that will be mentioned after it.

Darb-at-ni--"she hit me." The affix -t- --"she" is anaphoric with the noun in the previous clause, i.e., waHde shurTiyye. The verb collocates with the verbs in the previous clause. It culminates both previous activities, i.e., of btimsek--"she grabs," and bitzu??--"she pushes." -ni--"me" is tied with -iyyi in the previous clause (see H & H:285).

Darab-t-ha--"I hit her," repetition of the verb. The same suffixes used are as those in the previous verb, but the relations of agent and patient are reversed.

### Clause 38

w--"and," additive conjunction, conjoins this clause with clause 36 in a chronologically sequenced order.

majmū9a min ij-jnūd--"a group of the soldiers." The noun phrase here is anaphoric to the NP in 30. It is tied to the NP in 30 as a subset of the whole. majmū9a--"a group" is a repetition of the same lexical item in 5, 10, and 12. Its specification through the prepositional phrase min ij-jnūd



"from the soldiers," indicates an antithesis of the lexical items in the initial clauses of the TM. Each is a member of the only two entities at play in the incident.

?ij-u--"they came," lexical cohesion. Repetition of the same lexical item in 12 and 30, and of the same kind as those in clauses 1, 5, 7, 10, 24, and 35. The -u--"they" is anaphoric to the NP that precedes it.

masak-ū-ni--"they grabbed me." The verb is a repetition of and therefore coheres with that in clause 36; -u--"they" coheres with the NP of the clause and the -u of the verb that precedes it; -ni--"me" coheres with the rest of the pronouns indicating the speaker.

sha9r-i--"my hair," lexical cohesion. It is cataphoric with ra?biti--"my neck" in the following clause and coheres with it; both are hyponyms of "head" or "body" (see H & H: 285).

#### Clause 39

w--"and," additive conjunction.

waHad--"one;" nominal ellipsis here. The omitted item is a repetition of the prepositional phrase in the previous clause, i.e., min ij-jnūd--"from the soldiers," which this noun coheres with as a member of the group.

masak--"grabbed," lexical cohesion. A repetition of the verb in clauses 36 and 38.

ra?bi-ti--"my neck," lexical cohesion. It collocates with a member of the same class in the previous clause, i.e., sha9ri--"my hair."

Clause 40

w--"and," sequential conjunction. It coheres with what precedes and follows it by setting up the sequential order of the clauses.

jarr-ū-ni--"they dragged me." The verb coheres with the other verbs of the same semantic category in 36, 38, and 39, i.e., misek--"grabbed" and za??--"pushed." This verb is a culmination of the above-mentioned kind of activities.

sha9r-i--"my hair," lexical cohesion, collocates with ra?bi-ti in clause 38.

is-sayyāra--"the car." The definite article has exophoric reference indicating that the lexical item is specific in reference. This lexical item also coheres with il-bāS--"the bus" in 10 as a member of the same class, but it differs in that it refers to the means of transportation of the other group "the soldiers" in this context, while the bus refers to the means of transportation of the prisoners's families.

Clause 41

w--"and," conjunction, indicates temporal sequentiality with the clauses that precede, i.e., 38, 39, and 40.

Sār-u--"they started." -u--"they" is anaphoric with the same suffix in clause 39 which is anaphoric with the NP in clause 38. The lexical item coheres with the same one in clauses 30 and 35.

Clause 42

yu-Drub-u--"(they) hitting (pl.)," lexical cohesion. The verb is a repetition of the same lexical item in clauses

30 and 35. Both occurrences of the verb cohere, in an inclusive manner, with its synonyms pointed out earlier.

#### Clause 62

fa--"so," conjunction, indicates the temporal sequentiality of the clauses.

ba9dēn--"after that," conjunction, also indicates the temporal sequentiality of the clauses. The reason for these two conjunctions to occur together in this clause seems to be due to the distance of these TM clauses in the whole text. This clause occurs in the TM after clause 41, i.e., twenty NTM clauses have intervened, which seems to be the reason for strongly specifying the sequentiality by using two conjunctions.

Daxxal-ū-ni--"they made me enter," lexical cohesion of the verb. It coheres with the rest of the translocative verbs indicated earlier.

il-muHākame--"the court." The definite article has exophoric reference. It points to a general entity known by the interlocutors. This lexical item also collocates with the noun is-sijen--"the prison" in clause 1.

#### Clause 63

tālet yōm--"the third day." This temporal adverb acts as a conjunction; it ties the clause that precedes it with what is to follow in a temporal sequential order.

?aTla9-ū-ni--"they made me go." The verb is translocative, and thus collocates with the rest of the verbs of the same category in the text. This verb and the preceding one

have further cohesive ties among them; they are both causative verbs. The ones that thus far precede them are not.

il-muHākame--"the court," repetition of the same lexical item in the preceding clause.

#### Clause 66

w--"and," conjunction, points to the sequentiality of the events of the TM.

Hakam-u--"they sentenced." The verb coheres with the noun muHākame<sup>9</sup> in the preceding two clauses. Both are derivations of the root Hakam--"(he) judged."

-u--"they," affix, coheres with the -u in clauses 61, 62, 39, 41, and the noun phrase in 38.

#### Clause 67

w--"and," conjunction, links the preceding clause with this one.

ish-shabāb--"the young men." The definite article here has exophoric reference. It refers to a general entity. shabāb has both exophoric and endophoric reference; exophorically, the lexical item refers to the young men among the visiting group; endophorically, this is seen through its collocation with both in-nās and ij-jnūd in clauses 5 and 30. It coheres with the first as a member of the group and with the second as an adversary of that group.

il-ma9-i--"who (are) with me." The definite article is a repetition of the one preceding it. It has a definite grammatical function here and not a semantic one, i.e., it is a must when the noun preceding it is definite and is

deleted if the noun preceding it is not definite. The whole prepositional phrase, however, acts as a specification of the lexical item, ish-shabāb, that it modifies. The specified NP coheres with the rest of the nouns and pronouns in the text that refer to the group of the speaker, indicated in this clause by the pronoun -i--"me."

?ajjal-u--"they postponed." The affix -u here coheres with the noun ij-jnūd in clause 30 and the rest of the nouns and pronouns of the same group.

muHākamit-hom--"sentencing them." The lexical item muHākame is a reiteration of the same one in 62, 63, and collocates with the verb in 66. The possessive pronoun -hom is anaphoric to the noun phrase initiating the same clause.  
Clause 68

w--"and," conjunction. It indicates sequentiality between the two clauses.

daffa9-ū-hom--"they made them pay." The verb coheres with the one in the previous clause, in clause 62, and in 61, in that they are all causative verbs; -u--"they" coheres with the -u of the previous clauses and the noun in clause 32.  
Clause 70

hāy--"this, here," demonstrative with endophoric reference. It coheres cataphorically with the whole text. It functions as a pointer to bring the speaker from the narrated events of the past into the present moment of narration (see Labov, 1972:365).

kul--"all," pronoun anaphoric (in an inclusive manner) with the entire preceding text.

illi HaSa1--"that happened," adjectival clause modifying kul, anaphoric (in an inclusive manner) with the whole events of the text. Its reference can also be seen as exophoric, i.e., as a reiteration of the question "what happened?" which the whole text is an answer to and coheres with.

#### 4.7 The Noncohesion of the NTM

The cohesion of the TM can be contrasted with the lack of cohesion of the NTM. If we take a few examples from the NTM of Text A and try to see if their constituents cohere together, we find the following.

fi 9ashara sitte . . . (1) maHkūm 9alē 9ishrin sane  
in ten six . . . (1) sentenced on-him twenty year  
\*On June six . . . (1) sentenced for twenty years."

b-a-?ul-1 -hom mālkom b-it -9ayyT-u w b-it -Sawwt-  
- I-say-to-them why - you- cry -pl. and - you-shout-  
u (17) . . . ?in -hom maZlum -in (18)  
pl. (17) . . . that-they oppressed-pl. (18)  
\*I ask them 'why are you shouting and crying?' . . .  
that they (are) oppressed."

The two examples above exemplify the lack of cohesion of the constituents of the NTM. Once the TM constituents, especially the perfective verbs, are taken off, the rest of the constituents can no longer provide a meaningful communicative passage.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4.8 Summary

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that verbs carry the "theme in narrative discourse. I started by analyzing the sample sentence A:1 used in chapter three where the NP was considered the theme and found that the perfective verb

was the only text constituent that answered the question "what happened?" Further, I established that other text constituents may be subordinated to the verb depending on the background knowledge of the listener and his/her willingness to incorporate other text constituents with the thematic verb. Because the listener may include other text constituents with the perfective verb in the thematic clause, I called the perfective clause "thematic material" (TM).

I gave a short summary of Paul Hopper's analysis, which showed that he takes the same approach towards text. Then, as an example, I traced the TM in Text A through the occurrence of the perfective verb. I used a layperson's intuition to determine which perfective verbs indicated TM and found that only two-thirds of them did so. Yet, the result was a cohesive text.

I then applied Halliday and Hasan's (1976) notion of cohesion and proved that the TM formed a cohesive text.

I mentioned that some perfective verbs indicate TM and others indicate NTM, but did not explain why. I will discuss this in the next chapters, especially the characteristics of the perfective and imperfective verbs and clauses. My purpose is to show why certain perfective verbs are mainly used in the TM while others are not. In chapter seven, I will discuss the theoretical implications and present my conclusion.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>This also corresponds to Jones's (1977) consideration of "what," unlike the rest of the WH-question words, to be the only question about a proposition.

<sup>2</sup>This form of the Arabic verb has been termed perfect/imperfect, perfective/imperfective. In chapter five, I will demonstrate that none of these terms accurately applies for the Arabic verb. For lack of a better term, any of these terms will be used. The terms refer only to the form of the verb. The suffixed form will be termed "perfect/perfective," the prefixed form "imperfect/imperfective." The reason why either of these terms is used will also be the point of discussion in the following chapter.

<sup>3</sup>The perfective which Hopper finds to denote "foregrounding," can be of a wide range of morphosyntactic devices in languages. It just happens that the traditionally known perfect verb in the treatment of AGs is the form of the verb which, among its varying functions, is that of perfective, performs its basic role as thus corresponding to Hopper's theoretically grounded use.

<sup>4</sup>Hopper's "precis" has been given other names. The Tagmemicists, who have a similar approach to the text, call it by one of the following terms: "backbone," "event-line," "central thread," "foregrounding," "minimal generalization," "thematic structure," "the most important or main ideas of a text," "a main thread running all through the text" (cf. Grimes, 1975, 1978a; Jones, 1977; Gleason, Jr., 1973). Jones equates the above terminology with her concept of "theme" or "theme-line" of a text (1977:vi).

Hopper's analysis, however, differs from the above in his focus on perfectivity as the main carrier of the theme of narrative discourse, other constituents are subsidiaries to the one that denotes perfectivity. He even divides the characteristics of the text under either perfective or imperfective. The Tagmemicists consider the whole clause as their basis of analysis.

<sup>5</sup>The categorization and number of moods in Arabic differ from one analyst to another. Here, I will use the three moods agree upon by every analyst. I will also use the terms given to them, leaving out their analyses and the reasons thereof. I find these terms appropriate to discussion in the next chapter.

<sup>6</sup>The particle (w)illa--"and suddenly" is not mentioned in any of the references I consulted. Its cognate ?illa--"except" is widely mentioned. I suspect the particle (w)illa to be the result of a diachronic process of shortening of the constituent wa ?itha bi--"and suddenly," found in Classical Arabic.



<sup>7</sup>Intonation and pause, though important in oral discourse, will not be discussed in this paper due to time and space limitations.

<sup>8</sup>The definite article in PA is il--"the"; is here shows the assimilation of the phoneme /l/ to /s/. Assimilation of the /l/ of the definite article occurs in the environment of words starting with dentalveolars.

<sup>9</sup>The lexical items Hakam-ū--"they sentenced/judged" and muHākame--"sentencing/judging" are derivations of the same root HKm--"to judge."

<sup>10</sup>This is another proof of the thematicity of the perfective verb. The structural function of the theme has been described as the "peg" (Halliday, 1967), the "nuclear constituent" (Jones, 1977), "structure defining" (Jones, 1977; van Dijk, 1977), among many other structural definitions.

CHAPTER FIVE  
THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE TM:  
THE VERB

5.1 Introduction

In chapter four, I demonstrated that the perfect verb is the theme (or nuclear constituent) of a sentence answering the question "what happened?" I also established that the imperfect verb does not have this function. I then developed a *précis* (or minimal generalization) of Text A by generalizing the thematic constituent (the perfective verb) of sentence A:1 to the whole text.

However, one-third of the perfect verbs in Text A occurred in the NTM, which seems to be inconsistent with my analysis. I will, therefore, in this chapter examine 1) perfect verbs in TM, 2) perfect verbs in NTM, and 3) imperfect verbs of the texts.

First, though, as a background to my discussion of the verbs in PA narrative discourse, I will review briefly the characteristics of the Arabic verb as described by both AGs and Arabists.

5.1.1 Arab Grammarians and Arabists

When the AGs analyzed the language 1300 years ago, they posited the root f9l--"to do" (or F-M-L, First-Middle-Last consonant), from which the whole lexicon of Arabic is derived. This root is lexically individualized by assigning to it any

of the relevant consonants of the language. Thus, the root F-M-L can be lexicalized as ktb--"to write," qtl--"to kill," drs--"to study," etc.

The imperfect verb, the noun, the adjective, etc. are derived from the root through patterns, which can be assumed by either vowel or consonantal affixes. From the root ktb, for example, we can form kataba--"he wrote," yaktubu--"he writes," kitāb--"book," maktab--"desk/office," etc.

The perfect verb has 15 patterns, each of which manifests a different semantic load from the others. The imperfect of each pattern is formed by adding the imperfect affixes. Thus, from the root ktb, we can form kataba--"he wrote," yaktubu (Imperfect); kātaba--"he wrote to somebody," yukātibu (Imp.); kattaba--"he made somebody write," yikattibu (imp.); takataba--"he and somebody wrote to each other," yatakātibu (Imp.); etc.

All the AGs agreed that the perfect is a verb, and that it is the base for the other derivations in the language. They called it ?al-fi9l il-māDi--"the past action." They considered it to refer both to actions and to times. The times of the perfect (past action) is past relative to the moment of utterance. They mentioned, though, its capability to refer to actions in other times. The AGs considered the action referred to by the perfect verb to be tamm--"completed" (see Abdul-Hamid, 1961:237; 1974, Vol. 1:34, note 1 and Vol. 2:14 ff.; Al-Hashimi, 1974:17 ff. and 43 ff.; Huraidi, 1975: 14).

The AGs disagreed on the duration of the perfect verb. The two main linguistic schools, Al-Kufa and Al-Basra, interpreted the duration differently. The former considered it to be a short duration. The latter thought it was a relatively long duration, depending on the time span between the actual occurrence of the event and the speaker's act of utterance referring to it (Abdul-Hamid, 1961, Vol. 2:550).

The imperfect, in contrast to the perfective, caused a great controversy between these two schools because 1) it has the same case ending as the noun, 2) it has a variety of temporal references, and 3) it has differing semantic functions. The following are examples of the case endings and some of the uses of the imperfect.

1. Case endings:

ya-ktub-u

ya-ktub-a

ya-ktub

2. Temporal reference:

Past:

kana ya-ktub-u--"he was writing"

lam yaktub--"he did not write."

Present:

kana ya-ktub-u l-?āna--"he is writing now."

Future:

sa-ya-ktub-u--"he will write"

lan-yaktub-a--"he will not write."

## 3. Semantic functions:

karaja yaSrux-u--"he went out shouting"

bada?a yaktub-u--"he started to write"

Hatta yaktuba--"until/in order that he writes"

qad kataba--"he had written"

sa-ya-kūnu qad kataba--"he will have written"

yurīdu ?an yaktub-a--"he wants to write"

yajibu ?an yaktub-a--"he must write."

For the above reasons, the Al-Basra linguists believed the imperfect to be a noun. The Al-Kufa school, on the other hand, believed it was a verb with "different functions" and "a long duration." The Arabic word for this verb, ?al-muDāre9--"the similar," was even interpreted differently by each school. Al-Basra interpreted it as "similar to the noun" while Al-Kufa interpreted it as "similar to (i.e., simultaneous with) the time of the event taking place" (Abdul-Hamid, 1961, Vols. 1 and 2).

The Arabic verb has also been controversial for the Arabists. They are skeptical about its reference to action or to time. They insist that the AGs have given undue importance to the idea of time in analyzing the Arabic verb (Wright, 1964, Vol. 1:51; Cantarino, 1975:58).

Further, the Arabists disagree on whether the Arabic verb indicates tense (Cantarino, 1975:58; Cowell, 1964:319, note 1), aspect (Beeston, 1970:76; Cowell, 1964:319, note 1), or mood (Cantarino, 1975:58). Of these, aspect is the most controversial because of difficulties in relating it to a type

of action (McCarus, 1976:28; Cowell, 1964:269) and to tense (Cowell, 1964:319, note 1). Beeston (1970) considers the perfect to be "event-stating" while the imperfect describes "an ideally frozen situation." He, however, like most Semet-icists, prefers to call the two verb forms "the suffixed set" and "the prefixed set" (77). Most Arabists call the verbs perfect and imperfect, although Cowell says these terms must not be taken literally; they are inflectional categories only (Cowell, 1964:319, note 1).

Comrie (1976), in contrast, says the two forms of the Arabic verb (he calls them perfective and imperfective) incorporate both aspect and (relative) tense. The perfective, he says, has both a perfective aspect and perfect tenses when accompanied by the particle qad and the verb to be. The imperfective describes "anything else" (80).

Kurylowicz's article, "Verbal Aspect in Semitic" (1973), abstracts all the above positions. He compares the two-member (binary) verbal system of Arabic to the verbal systems of French, Greek and the Slavic languages. He concludes that the verbal system in binary verb languages "cover all meaning and shades expressed by verbal systems with a greater number of terms (e.g., Latin, six; French, eight in the indicative)" (117). He shows that the Arabic binary verb system "excludes not only the category of aspect, but also the category of tense," and that the different individual meanings of both verbs are a result of their use in different contexts (linguistic situations) (115).

Kurylowicz, however, says the Arabic verbal system has primary, secondary and tertiary functions. The primary function is "anteriority" vs. "simultaneity." He thus concurs with the AGs about the perfect and with the Al-Kufa school about the imperfect. The secondary and tertiary functions of the Arabic verb are tense and aspect, respectively. These functions, he says, are context-conditioned. He gives the following summary of the characteristics of the Arabic binary verb system (118).

	<u>Secondary functions:</u>	<u>Tertiary functions:</u>
of fa9ala	plusquamperfectum	perfective preterite
	futurum exactum	perfective future
of yaf9alu	imperfectum	imperfective preterite
	futurum	imperfective future.

McCarus (1976), like Kurylowicz (whose article he read after he wrote his own), includes "aspect" (in the Slavic sense), "aspect" (as "type of action") and "tense" as properties of the Arabic verb. He, however, does not divide them into a hierarchy of functions as Kurylowicz does. McCarus's aim is to analyze the relation of the perfect verb in SA to its participle. Analyzing texts in SA, McCarus calls the perfect the "tense of narration" and the imperfect "situational . . . to impart more of a sense of immediacy and psychological involvement on the part of the reader" (395).

The above is a short review of the points of view both AGs and Arabists have about the two forms of the Arabic verb. Indeed, one can see that all their points of view hold. I mean to say that if we compare both the perfect form of the

verb and the imperfect, we find that the first demonstrates reference to past actions (in its unmarked use), while the imperfect does not. And, if perfect means completed, then the perfect form of the Arabic verb can be described as perfect, while the imperfect (noncompleted) can rightly be described so. Treating completedness makes one understand the difference in opinion both schools of Arabic linguistics had concerning the duration of the perfect, i.e., one described it as punctual and the other as "long." The reason is that, whatever the duration of the action denoted by the perfect, its main characteristic is completedness before the moment of utterance. This factor does not hold for the imperfect.

Furthermore, the perfect verb itself must be seen as manifesting several aspectual distinctions (McCarus, 1976: 28; Cowell, 1964:264 ff.). Some of these aspects have to do with the kind of derivation of the verb, but more often, it is contextually conditioned.

Kurylowicz's description of the primary function of the perfect in Arabic as that of anteriority is also correct. Any perfect verb can be anterior to any other perfect or imperfect verb. The anteriority of a perfect verb to another verb (and also to the moment of utterance), is able to find support in Beeston's characterization of the perfect as the verb of the "event-line;" McCarus's characterization as "the tense of narration;" and is equal to Hopper's description of the function of the perfective, that is, it denotes events that succeed each other on the time axis.



But the fact that one-third of the perfect verbs of Text A (analyzed in chapter four) have a function different from the rest of the perfect verbs in PA narrative discourse, raises a question as to what extent Kurylowicz's, Beeston's and McCarus's characterization of the perfect as that of the "event-line," "of narration" and "anteriority" is exact. The perfect verbs that were not TM did not abide by the succession on the time axis (Beeston's event-line) of those narratives. As such, some factors in the above descriptions must be missing. Kurylowicz seems to take care of that by considering the function of anteriority to be only primary and points to secondary and tertiary functions which are context-conditioned, but he does not specify those conditions.

The imperfect, however, seems more in accord with the descriptions given to it by the Arabists than not (see Beeston, 1970:76; Cantarino, 1975:51, 79; Wright, 1964, Vol. 1: 18; McCarus, 1976:35; Cowell, 1964:345, 374). Out of the 323 imperfect verbs used in the texts, only 49 are used in the TM. As such, it does function as the imperfective should in Hopper's terms.

What I will do in the following analysis is to investigate the characteristics of the verb in PA narrative discourse (as detected in the five texts I have) and find out both these characteristics and the conditions that produce the above stated discrepancies. My analysis will be broken into the following points.

1. The characteristics of the perfect (of the TM (PTM)) and the characteristics of the imperfect (of the NTM),

2. The characteristics of and the conditions for the perfect of the NTM (PNTM) as compared to the characteristics of and the conditions for the PTM, and

3. The characteristics of and the conditions for the imperfect of the TM as compared to the imperfect of the NTM.

Since the unmarked function of the perfect has been shown to be in the TM and the unmarked function of the imperfect is in the NTM, I will start with these two members of the verbal system in PA, as seen in the narrative texts.

## 5.2 The Perfect and Imperfect in PA

The TM perfect in PA has the following characteristics which the imperfect does not have.

1. Reference to past actions,
2. Reference to completed actions, and
3. Reference to actions that succeed each other on the time axis (or the event-line).

The following section is a discussion of the above points with examples. All examples are drawn from the texts and followed by capital letters and Arabic numerals in parentheses indicating the source texts and clauses, respectively. The constituent under discussion will be underlined. When needed, examples of PA from outside the texts will be used. These examples have no parentheses following them. The result of the analysis will be used to relate the characteristics of these verbs to their functions in representing the TM and NTM of the texts.

1. Reference to past actions:

This is the function of the perfect verb. The past is relative to the moment of utterance. And, without a time adverbial specifier, it can be seen to be past at any point of time. Starting from infinity until (prior to) the moment of utterance, e.g.,

ruH-(na)--"(we) went" (A:1; C:1, 6, 38)

xirj-(u)--"(they) went out" (C:17; D:19, 34, 35; E:23,  
26, 32, 44)

?ij-(at)--"(she) came" (A:12, 27, 30, 38; B:16, 42, 66;  
C:30; D:65).

A simple test can be done to show the pastness of these verbs. A use of any past time adverbial can work with them. A future time adverbial is impossible with them.

\*bukra ruH-na--"tomorrow we went."

With a present time adverbial, the perfect will still be seen to refer to the past.

ruH-na l-yom--"we went today."

A punctual present time adverbial will still keep the past reference.

halla? ruH-na--"we just left/went."

The pastness of the perfect and its relevance to the moment of utterance (an example of which is seen in the last sentence) has been given different interpretations in the literature. This is one area on which the Arabists and the AGs differ. Some Arabists consider the Arabic perfect verb to indicate both past tense and present perfect tense (Cowell,

1964:329; Cantarino, 1975:69). The AGs consider it to be tamm--"completed." But I will postpone discussing this characteristic until the next point.

The imperfect, on the other hand, does not refer to the past. Indeed, in and by itself, the imperfect has no reference to tense; it only refers to an activity going on in time.

$b^1 - i$  -rushsh-u<sup>2</sup> (A:11)  
Ind.-they-spray -pl. "they spray"

$y^3$  -rushsh-u  
they-spray -pl. "they spray"

rushsh-u  
spray -pl. "spray! (you, pl.)."

The above three forms of the imperfect (called in the literature indicative, subjunctive, and imperative, respectively) do not refer to the past, neither do they refer to tense at all. Without a time specifier, the indicative can be interpreted as a habitual action, an action continuing at the moment of utterance, a promise or a threat. The subjunctive, with an added feature of a falling-rising-falling intonation, can be interpreted as a permission to do the activity. In order to specify their time reference, an added constituent is needed. For example,

\*mbareH b-i-rushsh-u--"yesterday they spray/spraying"  
il-yōm b-i-rushsh-u--"they will spray today"  
bukra b-i-rushsh-u--"they will spray tomorrow"  
9am<sup>4</sup> b-i-rushsh-u--"they are (now) spraying"  
kān-u 9am b-i-rushsh-u--"they were spraying"  
raH y-kūn-u 9am b-i-rushsh-u--"they will be spraying."

What the above examples show is that, while we cannot use a past time adverbial with the indicative, a present or future time adverbial gives it a future interpretation. The particle 9am, however, gives it a continuous, ongoing interpretation. If used alone, 9am indicates an activity going on at the moment of utterance. With the addition of the verb "to be" in the past or future, the continuing factor of the activity remains, but the time is then rendered past or future.

The subordination of the indicative to a perfect verb also gives it a past time reference.

shuf-nā-hom 9am b-i-rushshu--"we saw them spraying."

The subordination of the indicative to another indicative renders a habitual activity.

m-in-shūf-hom 9am b-i-rushsh-u  
"we (usually) see them spraying."

The last example is another manifestation of the lack of a tense indication for the indicative. Its indication of a durative (habitual or continuous) activity remains intact.

The indicative, as I pointed out earlier, can also refer to a modality. But another feature needs to be added to it if this is to be done. A positive promise can be indicated by the use of a rising-falling intonation, and a negative promise (threat) can be achieved by adding a special stress and a falling intonation.

While the indicative refers to a habitual or ongoing activity, the subjunctive, on its own, refers to the "idea of an activity" without any reference to duration or to time.

As such, it is the form used to express modalities. A few examples from the texts are

bid -na tu-sh9ur-u ma9-na (A:21)  
want-we you-feel -pl. with-us  
"We want you to feel with us."

mish ?ādr-e ?a-sabbet Hāl -i (B:151)  
neg. can -f. I- fix self-my  
"I cannot endure."

lāzem ?intu t -dīr -u bāl -kom 9alē-na (B:81)  
must you you-care-pl. thought-your on -us  
"You must care for us."

?alla yi-Sra9 -hom (D:15)  
God he-shock-them  
"May God shock them."

The above examples and discussion of the perfect and the two submembers of the imperfect show why the perfect is the verb of the TM while the imperfect is not. The former indicates past time reference. The latter, on the other hand, neither refers to past nor to any specific tense.

## 2. Reference to completed actions:

The pastness of the perfect and the lack of it for the imperfect affects another characteristic of both verbs, that is, completedness (Comrie, 1976:18 ff.). In the following discussion, I will confine my examples to the perfect and the indicative. The complete lack of a time reference and/or duration for the subjunctive has already been shown. Therefore, the discussion of this and the following points only merits the perfect and the indicative.

The following are examples from the texts and their counterparts from outside the texts.

nizl-u--"they went" (A:4)

b-yi-nzil-u--"they (usually) go"

b-i-zarrer--"he buttons up" (D:13)

zarrar--"he buttoned up."

A perfect and an imperfect from the texts are given. Also given are the imperfect/perfect counterpart of each. The perfect indicates a completed action in the past. The imperfect indicates a habitual, noncompleted action.

To show the completedness vs. the lack of it on the side of each verb, the present time punctual verb halla?--"this moment" will be tested with each verb.

halla? nizl-u--"they just left"

halla? b-yi-nzil-u--"they will come in a moment"

nizl-u min is-sā9a 9ashra la halla?  
went-they from the-hour 10 to this moment  
"They went (have gone) from 10 o'clock until now."

\*b-yi-nzil-u min is-sā9a 9ashra la halla?  
"They go from ten o'clock until now."

The perfect is tamm--"completed" as indicated by the AGs, regardless of its past duration. The imperfect is not completed, as shown by its incapability to accept the punctual time adverb halla?.

The completedness of the perfect verb, as indicated above, stands true regardless of its duration, e.g.,

halla? naTT-u--"they just jumped"

halla? b-i-nuTT-u--"they will jump in a moment"

naTT-u min is-sā9a 9ashra la halla?--"they have jumped from 10 o'clock until now"

\*b-i-nuTT-u min is-sā9a 9ashra la halla?.

The above shows that, although the punctual verb naTT--"he jumped" is punctual, it can also be seen as indicating a durative action. However, the difference between its

duration and that of the imperfect is the characteristic of completedness for the perfect and the lack of it for the imperfect.

If we take the verb stanna--"he waited" whose primary characteristic is that of duration, and see how it behaves with the punctual time adverbial halla?, we find

\*halla? stannē-na--"we just waited"

stannē-na min is-sa9a 9ashra la halla?  
"we waited from 10 o'clock until now"

\*m-ni-stanna min is-sā9a 9ashra la halla?

stannē-na mbaraH--"yesterday we waited."

In the above examples, we find that this durative perfect verb agrees with the (durative use of the) punctual verbs above in terms of the completedness of each by the moment of utterance. Yet, it disagrees with them in terms of accepting the punctual time adverbial halla? which, as I indicated above, shows a point of termination at which the action of the perfect stops.

The reason that a punctual verb can accept the time adverbial halla? and a durative one cannot is another manifestation of the completedness of the perfect verb. The durative verb can be used with a definite past time adverbial. Thus, its completedness is assured. Because it is durative, PA speakers seem not to permit using the punctual present moment adverbial with it for fear of infringement on the moment of utterance due to its durative nature. Thus, it is kept far from it by the use of a remote past time adverbial. By this strategy, the completedness of this durative perfect



is maintained and its infringement on the moment of utterance is prohibited.

To secure the completedness of a punctual perfect (which, as we saw, can be used with halla?), PA speakers utilize another linguistic category to indicate the relevance of a past action to the moment of utterance. This linguistic category is used for such a purpose only for punctual verbs. By thus doing, PA speakers seem to be ensuring that the punctual perfect is kept to designate completed activities.

The linguistic form thus used is the participle. It, by itself, has multiple functions; as an adjective, a continuous tense, etc. (Cowell, 1964:762 ff.; Abdul-Hamid, 1974:379 ff.; 1936:106ff.; 1975:369 ff.). For punctual verbs, the participle is used as a perfect tense. For perfect durative verbs, however, PA speakers do not need to use the participle as such. They do not need one form to indicate the completedness of a durative verb and another to indicate its present effect. Perfect durative verbs are, like the punctual verbs, completed. But their completedness is farther away in the past of the moment of utterance than that of the punctual perfect, e.g.,

?akal-na--"we ate"

Halla? ?akal-na--"we just ate"

mākl-īn  
eating-pl.--"we/they have eaten"

stannē-na--"we waited"

\*halla? stanne-na--"we have just waited"

mistanny-īn  
waiting-pl.--"we/they are waiting."

The different functions of the participle, shown above for both a punctual and a nonpunctual perfect are, in my opinion, a way PA speakers keep the completedness of the perfect verb intact. Since only punctual verbs have the possibility of such misinterpretations,<sup>5</sup> only punctual verbs employ the participle to indicate the present perfect meaning. As such, the completedness of a punctual verb, as well as any other perfect verb, is kept intact.

So far, I have shown that the difference between a perfect and an imperfect is two-fold; reference to past vs. a lack of specific time reference, and completedness of the action vs. the lack of such characteristic. The next point of discussion is the succession on the time axis that characterizes the perfect and the lack of such succession on the part of the imperfect.

3. Reference to actions that succeed each other on the time axis:

Reference to actions that succeed each other on the time axis is the function of the perfect. I have already given my opinion that this function of the perfect equals Kurylowicz's characterization of the primary function of the perfect as of "anteriority," Beeston's description of the perfect as the verb of the "event-line," and McCarus's calling it "the tense of narration." Thus, all three seem to agree that this is the primary function of the perfect verb in Arabic. Following are examples from the texts to show the validity of such characterizations.

wʔif -na 9ala bāb s-sijen (B:1)  
 stood-we on door the-prison  
 "We stood at the prison door."

nzil -na min il-bāS (B:2)  
 got off-we from the-bus  
 "We got off from the bus."

Tli9 -na la l-bāS it-tāni (B:3)  
 got up-we to the-bus the-second  
 "We got up the second bus."

Each of the above perfect verbs refers to a past completed action. Furthermore, each of those actions is past relative to (or anterior to) the one that precedes it. They, to use Hopper's terms, succeed each other on the temporal axis as the actions they denote do in real time. Or, to use Beeston's description of the perfect verb in Arabic; they denote the event-line. Not all the perfect verbs, however, denote this succession on the event-line. But this deviation will be discussed later under the PNTM.

The imperfect, on the other hand, does not show this succession on the time axis. Its primary function, as has been described by Kurylowicz, is "simultaneity." I have mentioned the particle 9am usually used with the indicative to express continuity at the time of utterance. 9am is not used in these narrative texts. Instead, the indicative (and subjunctive) are subordinated to the perfect, which is the verb of the TM, e.g.,

shāf- u n- nās b - i-Sawwt-u w b - i -  
 saw-they the-people Ind.-they-shout-pl. and Ind.-they-  
9ayyT-u (A:6)  
 cry -pl.  
 "They saw the people shouting and crying."

Sār - u y - ?awm -ū -hom (C:24)  
 started-they they-resist-pl.-them  
 humme yu -Drub-u w humme yu -Drub-u (C:25)  
 they they-hit -pl. and they they-hit -pl.  
 "They started resisting them (C:24). They were hitting and they were hitting."

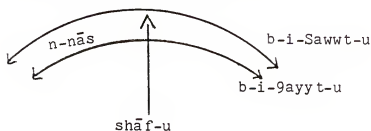
The first two imperfect verbs are indicative and are subordinated to a perfect verb. Thus, they are in the past. Both indicatives express an activity continuous at the time referred to by the perfect. The relationship between both indicatives is that of simultaneity. Both activities are seen to be going on at the same time.

The same is true with the subjunctives of the second examples. Both verbs of C:25 are commentary on the action denoted by the verb of the preceding clause. Both these verbs denote activities simultaneous with each other.

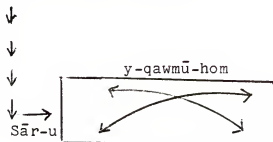
Seen on the time axis, as indicated by Hopper (1979: 214), the perfect verbs of B:1-3 would look like

↓  
↓  
↓.

Those of A:6 would look like



And those of C:24 and C:25



The reason for the semicircle to indicate the imperfect (as compared to the straight line for the perfect) is to indicate continuity for the imperfect with the possibility of a termination of the durative activity at any point. The parallel lines for the imperfect in A:6 indicate that both simultaneous activities are done by the same persons. In C:25, the actors are different and are opposed to each other. Thus, these are two durative activities which interact (possibly) at every moment, since both groups are seen to be "hitting" each other. Clause C:25, however, is a commentary on the verb(s) in clause C:24 (clause C:24 will be discussed under the imperfect of the TM).

There is, however, a difference between the imperfect verbs (indicatives) of A:6 and those (subjunctives) of C:25. The first indicate an actual activity going on at the time of the perfect verb of the main clause and thus is linked to it. The subjunctives, on the other hand, are not subordinated to the clause that precedes them. They are linked to it by being a commentary on and explanation of it. Thus, the indicatives of A:6 are part of the TM and those of C:25 are not. They are NTM.

The indicatives of A:6, as pointed out above, have the same time reference as that of the perfect. The semicircle line indicates the possibility of their completedness. But this depends on the pastness/recency of the past reference of the perfect of the main clause. I indicated earlier that the perfect refers to any point of time in the infinite past

until the moment of utterance. Thus, if the perfect denotes a remote activity, it is logical enough to see the (then) enduring activity of the imperfect to have been completed by the time of utterance, or before it.

wa?t-ha shāf-u n-nās biSawwt-u w biḡayyT-u  
 "At that time they saw the people shouting and crying."

If, on the other hand, one enters into a room full of people and announces (as in A:6) what he/she has seen before coming into the room, then there is no way to know if the activity has stopped by his/her arrival or not.

#### 4. Imperfectivity vs. otherwise:

The previous discussion indicates clearly that the imperfect form of the verb in PA has an imperfective function (see Comrie, 1976, for the definition and discussion of the perfective and the imperfective aspects). The perfect verb in PA, however, does not have a perfective aspect as described by Comrie for SA. As indicated by Kurylowicz, perfectivity is a tertiary function of the perfect in Arabic and is context-conditioned. For example, the verb nizl-- "went down" is used several times in the texts, each time with a different aspect. I will give a few of its occurrences to demonstrate the point.

nzil-t-- "I went down/left/got off" (B:8)

nzil-na min il-bāS-- "we got off the bus" (B:2)

nizl - u fī-ha ?atel (E:22)  
 went on-they in-her beating  
 "They went on beating her."

The verb of B:8, by itself, has no indication as to duration. In the text, however, we know that it refers to a

punctual activity because, in the previous clauses, reference is being made that the person was in the bus. So, we interpret the verb of B:8 as "got off," which is punctual. Example B:2 makes this clear. Example E:22, on the other hand, indicates both an inceptive and a durative activity (Cowell, 1964: 262 ff., for verbs with multiple aspects in Syrian Arabic). The verb, the preposition and the abstract noun all partake in giving such interpretations. Tested with both the punctual time adverb halla?--"this moment" and the durative one lamuddet--"for the time of," we find that the verb of B:2 can be used only with the former adverb, while that of E:22 can be used with both.

halla? nzil-t min il-bāS--"I just got off the bus"

\*nzil-t min il-bāS lamudalet 9ashar sā9āt  
 "I got off the bus for the duration of 10 hours"

halla? nizl-u fī-ha ?atel--"they just started hitting her"

nizl-u fī-ha ?atel lamudalet 9ashar sā9āt  
 "they went on hitting her for 10 hours."

Furthermore, the perfect in PA shows more than one aspectual distinction. Other than the inceptive, punctual and durative, there is the developmental.

Dall - u - y -jishsh-u bi n- nās ?aTla9- ū -  
 went on-they-they-expel-pl. in the-people sent -they-  
 hom kull-hom barra (B:118)  
 them all-them out  
 "They went on expelling the people until they sent them  
 all outside."

There is the inchoative (see Cowell, 1964:250).

ntaf-x wıjj-ha--"her face became swollen" (E:38).

But, although most of the perfect verbs in the texts are of an inceptive/punctual/developmental aspect, this, as I had

mentioned before, is not a sufficient condition to make them functional as perfectives in Hopper's terms. Another condition is required which will be the point of discussion in the following section, when treating the PTM and the PNTM.

### 5.2.1 The Perfect of the TM and the Perfect of the NTM

I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter that Arabic was analyzed by the AGs in terms of a root and its derivations. This analysis still pertains for both PA and SA (Cowell, 1964:240 ff.; Wright, 1964, Vol. 1:29 ff.). Both dialects are considered to have 15 verbal derivations of the trilateral root f9l (or F-M-L as indicated in the introduction to this chapter, with a few examples of derivations then given). Each of these forms (also called "patterns" or "categories" in the literature) is considered to indicate certain semantic characteristics that the others do not (see Cowell, 1964:240 ff., for the semantic characteristics of these derivations in Syrian Arabic).

The five PA texts that are under discussion contain only four of these forms. These forms are the trilateral verb, the diliteral verb, the tetraliteral and the pentaliteral. Following is a count of these verbs with their frequency of occurrence in the TM and NTM of the texts.

	<u>Texts</u>	<u>TM</u>	<u>NTM</u>
Trilateral	120	96	24
Diliteral	53	36	17
Sār	24	13	6
Other	29	18	11
Tetraliteral	27	22	5
Pentaliteral	7	2	5



The reason I gave the verb Sār a category of its own is that it is the verb with the highest frequency of occurrence in all the texts and in the TM. But, as is clear, most of the verbs are of the trilateral form, which is the root derivation of the language. The rest of the diliteral forms are mostly of the verb of saying ʔāl--"to say" which, because of the multiple and interacting indirect speeches in the texts, occurs mostly in the NTM. I detected four kinds of indirect speech where, more often than not, there is no demarcating line between one and the other (see also Cowell, 1964:450, on this issue). Most of the tetraliteral verbs occur in the TM. This form is the product of either a transitivizing or a causative derivation. Here are some examples from the texts and their trilateral (root) forms.

Tile9--"he went out"

ʔaTla9--"he made somebody go out" (A:63; B:118)

xirej--"he left"

ʔaxraj--"he made somebody leave" (C:16; D:18)

daxal--"he entered"

daxxal--"he made somebody enter" (A:62; B:65)

dafa9--"he paid"

daffa9--"he made somebody pay" (A:67).

The pentaliteral form has the lowest frequency. Furthermore, it is mostly used in the NTM. Here, the reason can be ascribed to the semantics of this derivation. Such verbs are derived by adding the prefix t- to other forms and their variations to produce a form of the passive (see Moscati,

1969:153 ff., for Semitic languages; Cowell, 1964:236, for Syrian Arabic). Narrative discourse does not seem to tolerate the passive. Following are examples of these verbs and their root derivation (which is not necessarily the triliteral, as mentioned before).

t-?aththar-na--"we were touched" (C:15)

?aththar--"to affect"

t-hayya? li--"I imagined (something shaped itself to me)" (D:37, 38, 40)

hayya?--"to shape/prepare something"

But it is also noticeable that most of the perfect verbs of the NTM are of the triliteral form. Let us look at some of the perfect verbs that occur only in the TM or NTM and those that occur in both.

PTM only:

dasha9-u--"they rushed" (B:64)

nafad-na--"we escaped" (E:61)

ruH-na--"we went" (C:6)

?ij-u--"they came" (A:30)

?axraj-ū-na--"they sent us out" (C:17)

PNTM only:

t-?aththar-na--"we were touched" (C:15)

t-hayya? li--"I imagined" (D:37, 38, 40)

PTM and PNTM together:

Verb	Meaning	TM	NTM
Darab-	"(he) hit"	A:36	B:38
?atal-	"(he) beat"	E:21	B:39
fāt-	"(he) entered"	D:16	B:11

Tile9-	"(he) went out"	A:35; B:4, 137; D:9	D:64
sakkār-	"(he) closed"	B:120	D:37
Hasal-	"(it) occurred"	A:69	B:105
shāf-	"(he) saw"	A:6	A:26
sime9-	"(he) heard"	D:46	D:45

The reason that the pentaliteral verb has few occurrences in this kind of discourse and that it favors the NTM, has already been discussed. Yet, both the pentaliteral verb and any other verb of the above forms can function both in the TM and the NTM. Analyzed out of context, it is true that the perfect verb will exhibit the characteristics given to it in the literature, that is, Beeston's "verb of the event-line;" McCarus' "tense of narration;" Kurylowicz' "anteriority;" etc. Analyzed in actual discourse, however, those characteristics do not always hold.

In order for a perfect verb to function as a perfective in Hopper's sense, other factors have to be accounted for. Since a great number of verbs with the same lexical item were shown to function in either TM or NTM, perfectivity and the lack of it are, then, functions of the perfect verb and not inherent in the verbal derivation of any form of the verb. These functions are conditioned by the environment. These environments also affect the characteristics of the perfect verb. Here, I will give the condition that I believe (and will try to prove) differentiates between the two functions of the verb under one concept, and then I will treat its effect on the characteristics of the verb in each environment.

The condition under which the perfect verb retains its basic characteristics is that of assertion. Lack of assertion in the environment of the perfect verb affects its basic characteristics. By assertion I mean lack of negation, interrogation, subordination or having a human agent (see Quirk, 1972:350; Saad, 1975:39, for definition and discussion of agent). In other words, assertion characterizes the basic sentence in the language. Any kind of transformational process renders a less assertive (less basic) sentence. Agentive subjects are also characterized as being more "basic" than other semantic roles of the subject (cf. Quirk, 1972:350).

The factor of assertion, which is linguistically conditioned in the context of the perfect verb, affects its basic characteristics, that is, its punctuality, its time succession and its pastness. Below I will explain with examples how these characteristics are affected when the verb is used in either of its two contexts, TM and NTM. I will then point to the role assertion plays in affecting the characteristics of the verb.

1. The PNTM does not abide by the past time reference of the PTM.

PTM:

fa ?ana mitelma Darb- at-ni Darab-t-ha (A:37)  
 so I same hit -she-me hit -I-her  
 "So, I hit her the same way she hit me."

PNTM:

?in Darb- ū -kom ?in ?atal- ū -kom mahma  
 if hit-they-you if beat-they-you whatever  
 giml- u fi-kom t - SiH -u (B:38)  
 did -they in-you you-shout  
 "If they hit you or beat you or whatever they do to  
 you, shout."

The five underlined verbs are perfect verbs. Yet, while the first two function in the TM, the last three do not. The first two refer to past actions. The last three are used in a conditional sentence with the particle ?in. This use of the perfect verb distorts the pastness of the perfect discussed earlier and gives a sense of hypothetical or future activity. Indeed, these verbs could have a past time reference if they were not used in the environment of ?in--"if." The conditional could have also been in the past had the speaker used the particle law--"if".

law Darab-u-kom law ?atal-u-kom kan SiH-tu  
 "Had they hit you or beaten you, you would have shouted."

In the last example, the problem is not the time factor. Rather, it is that of assertion which is the condition for the perfect to function in the TM, as I have already mentioned. In sentence B:38, both the time factor and the condition of assertion are violated.

2. The PNTM does not abide by the past time succession on the event-line

PTM:

w jarr - u -ni min sha9r-i (A:40)  
 and pulled-they-me from hair-my  
 "And they pulled me from my hair."

w ba9dēn daxxal- u -ni 9a l-muHākame (A:62)  
 and after that took -they-me to the-court  
 "And after that, they took me to the court."

PNTM:

?illi fāt - u zār - u ?abil -na (B:11)  
 who entered-they visited-they before-us  
 "These who had entered and visited before us."

t-naftar- u fī-na lamma ?ayyad- ū -na w  
 shouted-they in-us when cuffed-they-us and

?aTla9- ū -na 9a 1-muHākame (A:63)

took -they-us to the-court

"They shouted at us when they cuffed us and took us to the court."

w ?ij- u liH?ū -na 9a 1-bāSāt (C:30)

and came-they followed-us to the-busses

lamma liH? - ū -na 9a 1-bāSāt Sār - u

when followed-they-us to the-busses started-they

yuDrubu fīna (C:31)

hitting us

"They came and followed us to the busses (C:30).

When they followed us to the busses, they started

hitting us (C:31)."

The above verbs, unlike the ones in B:38, refer to the past. These examples, however, concern the sequentiality of past events. In C:30, A:40, and A:62, both the adverb (underlined) and the conjunction w indicate a sequentiality; thus, the verbs that follow them are sequential with the perfect verb that precede and thus act on the time axis in a sequential manner. In examples B:11, A:63, and C:31, we have the adverbs ?abil--"before" in B:11, and lamma--"when" in A:64 and C:31. The adverb in B:11 distorts the sequentiality of the events in the way that it posits the action indicated by the verb as anterior to what came before it. Actions on the time axis are each future to what comes before them. Thus, the verbs here do not take their role of succession on the time axis as actions do in real life. This factor renders such verbs not capable of pushing the communication forward in Hopper's terms. The use of ?abel in this context renders a past perfect interpretation of the verb.

In the case of lamma, the distortion of the sequentiality of the actions is different. lamma acts as a connector. It connects a previous event to another one, either sequentially

or simultaneously. In C:31, the verb that follows after lamma is a repetition of the verb in C:30. In A:63, however, one verb is a repetition of the verb in A:62 and the rest of the verbs indicate simultaneity with that repeated verb. If we try to join these verbs with the one in A:62 and with each other by the conjunction of sequentiality, w, we find we cannot do so.

\*?aTla9-ū-ni 9a l-muHākame (A:62)  
 w tnaftar-u fina w ?ayyad-ū-na w ?aTla9-ū-na l-muHākame  
 "They sent me to the court (A:62) And they shouted at  
 us and they cuffed us and they sent us to the court."

What the adverb lamma does is that it stops moving on the time axis at a certain point, either to proceed again, or to describe other actions occurring simultaneously with the main one, usually the repeated one. The above examples show another factor at work in their functioning as NTM. This is the condition of assertion. All the above NTM clauses lack assertion. Example B:11 is a relative clause. The lack of assertion on the part of relative clauses has already been extensively discussed in the literature (see Kuno, 1975; Schachter, 1973; Keenan & Comrie, 1977). Example A:64 is initiated by a t- prefix derivative verb (which is here transitivity through the preposition fi--"in"). As for the rest of the verbs, they all occur in subordinate clauses. As we will see later, the subordination of the perfect verb in PA is one way the verb loses its assertion.

### 3. The PTM is punctual:

When I discussed the perfect verb and the imperfect verb in PA, I pointed out the difference of the time duration each

of the forms of the verb indicates. I described the perfect as indicating a completed action, while the imperfect as exhibiting a durative action, habitual or continuous. I then pointed out that, regardless of the duration of the perfect, it indicates a shorter duration than that of the imperfect because its time is conditioned by its completedness. The duration of a perfect verb was then shown to be relative, depending on its linguistic context.

Here, I will show that the PTM denotes a punctual aspect, while the perfect of the NTM can denote a durative one.

PTM:

Most of the perfect verbs of the TM are either translocative verbs, verbs of perception and cognition, or transitive/causative verbs. These verbs indicate dynamic punctual actions.

Dash9-at 9ala-yyi l-?ahāli (B:147)  
rushed-she at -me the-families  
 "The people rushed at me."

?aTla9 - ū -hom kull-hom barra (B:118)  
sent out-they-them all-them out  
 "They sent them all out."

Each of the above verbs has a punctual aspect. Tested with a punctual time adverbial, e.g., fi laHZa--"in a moment," we find

Dash9-at 9alla-yyi l-?ahāli fi laHZa  
"The people rushed at me in a moment."

?aTla9-ū-hom kull-hom barra fi laHZa  
"They sent them all out in a moment."



Tested with the durative time adverbial lamuddet--"for the period of," the above verbs will not be meaningful.

\*dash9-at 9ala-yyi l-?ahāli lamuddet 9ashar sā9āt  
"The families rushed at me for ten hours."

\*?aTla9-ū-hom kull-hom barra lamuddet 9ashar sā9āt  
"They sent them all outside for ten hours."

If we want to keep the durative time adverbial in the sentences above, we need to use the verb Dall--"remained" or xalla--"kept" before these durative adverbials.

Some verbs of the TM have both inceptive and durative aspects (see Cowell, 1964:271 ff.). When such verbs are used in the TM, PA speakers use one of the translocative verbs preceding that verb to ensure its inceptive aspect.

w ?ij- u liH? - ū -na 9a l-bāSāt (C:30)  
and came-they followed-they-us to the-busses  
"And they came and followed us to the busses."

?ām-at HaTT-at -ha w ?aT9am-at -ha ?atle (E:20)  
came-she put-she-her and fed -she-her beat  
"She came, threw her down and gave her a beating."

Each of the examples above is initiated by a translocative verb. Without the use of translocative verbs, perfect verbs in the examples above can be used to refer to durative activities.

liH?-ū-na Hatta w Sil-na 9a nables  
"They followed (continued following us) until we reached Nablus."

HaTT-at-ha bi l-furon min s-sā9a waHde la s-sā9a 9ashra  
"She put it in the oven from one o'clock until ten."

The first can be of a long duration; the second is a stative verb. The use of the translocative verbs before the same lexical items (in C:30 and E:20) indicates a punctual, dynamic activity. In such positions, translocative verbs

have long been observed in the analysis of Arabic to be indicating the inception of an activity, termed ?af9āl ish-shurū9--"the verbs of inception/initiation" by AGs (Wright, 1964:102 ff.; Abdul-Hamid, 1975:223; Al-Hashimi, 1974:143, note 5). The occurrence of any of these verbs preceding any other perfect verb gives the effect of the inception of that durative activity. As such, translocative verbs cannot precede the imperfective, whose duration is unlimited.

\*?āmu biHuTTūha w biT9amūha ?atle

Perfect verbs other than translocative ones can precede the imperfect.

shufthom biHuTTūha w . . .  
"I saw them putting her down and . . . "

gimlu Hālhom biHuTTūha w . . .  
"They pretended that they were . . . "

The above examples indicate that the use of translocative verbs preceding any other perfect verb ensures an inceptive aspect for that verb.

Verbs of perception and cognition are also used in the TM.

mā smi9-na ?illa S- Swāt b - i - SīH -u (E:8)  
heard-we the-voices Ind.-they-shout-pl.  
"We suddenly heard shouting."

mā shuf-na ?illa ?iHna dasha9-na . . . (B:64)  
saw-we we rushed-we . . .  
"We found ourselves rushing . . . "

mā smi9-t ?illa w il-bint . . . (D:46)  
heard-I and the-girl . . .  
"I suddenly heard the girl . . . "

nizl - u majmū9a (A:5) shāf- u n- nās  
got off-they group saw-they the-people  
b-i-Sawwt-u w b - i -9ayyT-u (A:6)  
they-shout-pl. and Ind.-they- cry -pl.  
"A group got off (the bus) (A:5) They saw the people shouting and crying (A:6)."

The above underlined verbs all indicate verbs of perception and cognition. Most of the occurrences of these verbs are used with the particles mā . . . ?illa to focus on the abruptness of the activity, thus making it both dynamic and punctual. These verbs also will not take a durative time adverbial.

\*ma smi9-na min issā9a 9ashara la s-sā9a tna9sh illa  
S-Swāt b-i-SIH-u  
"We suddenly heard from ten o'clock until twelve voices shouting."

A punctual time adverb, however, can be used with them.

laHZit-ha ma smi9-t ?illa . . .  
"At that moment, I suddenly heard . . ."

The above verbs of perception are also used as the verbs of main clauses. They are subordinated by an indicative, and not a subjunctive. I have pointed out the difference in PA between the actuality of the indicative (assertiveness in Cowell's terms) and the lack of it on the part of the subjunctive. Thus, the use of the perfect verbs of perception above indicates a dynamic and punctual activity occurring at a point when another durative activity is taking place.

Transitive and causative verbs constitute the third category of the verbs used in the TM. By their nature, they are dynamic. In the context of the incident narrated, they are also punctual.

?aTla9- ū -ni 9a l-muHākame (A:63)  
sent -they-me to the-court  
"They sent me up to the court."

za?at - ū -ni w saHab - ū -ni min ?uddām is-  
seized-they-me and dragged-they-me from front the-  
sayyāra (B:144)  
car  
"They seized me and pulled me away from the front of the car."

The verb in A:62, in its root form, is a translocative verb. Translocative verbs were described as punctual. Here, the verb is transitivity by derivation, thus rendering it a more dynamic action indicated by the transitive translocative verb.

The second verb in B:144 could well be a durative verb. A Palestinian speaker could say

saHāb - ū -ni min il-ʔuds la birzeit  
 dragged-they-me from Jerusalem to Birzeit  
 "They dragged me from Jerusalem to Birzeit."

And, when one knows that that makes a distance of over twenty miles, the verb, then, can be seen as a long process. But the prepositional adverb in B:144 above indicates that the action cannot have taken a long period of time. Trying to use the durative time adverbial lamuddet--"for the period of" with either of the above verbs renders an unacceptable meaning to them.

\*ʔaTla9-ū-ni 9a l-muHākame lamuddet 9ashar sā9āt  
 "they took me to the court for the period of ten hours."

\*ZaʔaT-ū-ni w saHāb-ū-ni min ʔuddām issayyara lamuddet  
 9ashar sā9āt  
 "They caught me and dragged me from the front of the car for ten hours."

Having illustrated the punctuality of the PTM; now I will illustrate the aspects of the PNTM.

#### PNTM:

The PNTM is characterized by being durative and stative. When the same lexical item is used in the TM, as we saw above, the speakers use specific indicators of its dynamicity and punctuality. When the same lexical item is used in the NTM,

there are no such indications of a short duration; indeed, there could be an indication of its durative activity.

li?anno ?axū -y Sār l -i zamān ma shuf-t-  
 because brother-my became for-me time neg. saw-I-  
 ō -sh (A:26)  
 him-neg.  
 "Because it has been a long time for me since I saw my brother."

Hatta tammē -na wā?f -īn 9a l-kursi (A:55)  
 to the extent remained-we standing-pl. on the-chair  
 "To the extent that we remained standing by the chair."

?ana ma -sabbat-t-esh (B:6)  
 I neg.-fix -ī-neg.  
 "I could not endure (I did not fix)."

The above are examples of the PNTM. The verb itself, shaf, was shown in the preceding paragraph to be of a punctual nature (A:6). While in A:6 it is punctual, in A:26 it is not. It indicates a static durative activity. The time adverbial zamān--"a long time" conditions this durative aspect of such a verb. Other factors interfere. Negation and subordination, which will be discussed in the following section, affect the assertion of this verb and thus its dynamicity and punctuality.

The same factors affect the verb of A:55. The verb itself is one of the static durative verbs in its unmarked use. When it occurs in the TM, it takes a dynamic developmental aspect.

Dall<sup>6</sup> - u y -jishsh-u ha n- nās ?at la9-  
 continued-they they-expel -pl. those the-people sent -  
 ū -hom kull-hom barra (B:118)  
 they-them all-them out  
 "They went on expelling the people until they sent them all outside."

The same (cognate) verb in A:55 is stative and durative. Tested with the developmental adverb shwayy ishwayy--"bit by

bit/step by step," we see that the verb in B:118 is meaningful, while that of A:55 is not.

Dall-u y-jishsh-u bi n-nās shwayy ishwayy ?aTla9-ū-  
hom kull-hom barra  
"They went on expelling the people (bit by bit) until  
they sent them all outside."

\*tammē-na wa?f-īn 9a l-kursi shwayy ishwayy  
"We kept/remained standing by the chair bit by bit."

The verbs Dall--"remained" and tamm--"remained" are, in their unmarked use, durative and static.

Dallē-na fi l-bēt  
"We remained at home."

tammē-na fi l-bēt  
"We remained at home."

Yet, and as can be seen from B:118, their use in the TM affects their basic characteristic and changes it from static and durative to developmental.

The verb in B:6 is an example of a great many perfect verbs of the NTM which are either passive or intransitive. This verb is a transitive verb in its unmarked use.

sabbat-t il-kursi  
fixed-I the-chair  
"I fixed the chair."

Here, in the NTM, it is used as an intransitive. This process of detransitivizing the verb has an opposite process in the TM, where it was shown that many intransitive verbs are transitivized and if a durative stative verb needs to be used there, other constituents will be at work to make it dynamic and punctual (for example, B:118).

The rest of the PNTM are characterized by being intransitive, static and durative.

il-kull it?aththar min il- waDe9 il ?iHna fI-i  
 the-all touched from the-situation that we in-it  
 "Everybody was touched by the situation we are living in."

?inSara9 - u (D:14)  
 got epileptic-they  
 "They got mad."

mitl innile ?alb -at (E:40)  
 like blue turned-she  
 "She turned blue."

I have tried above to show the differences between the PTM and the PNTM. I discussed the differences under points of past time vs. otherwise, succession on the time axis vs. the lack of it, and in the last point, I explained and gave examples of the basic difference between the PTM as dynamic and punctual verbs and those of the NTM as stative and durative. In each case of the PNTM, I pointed out another factor at play, which is the occurrence of these verbs in environments that affect their assertiveness. Assertion vs. the lack of it is my next point of discussion to differentiate between the PTM and the PNTM. The PTM is assertive; the PNTM is not.

### 5.2.2 The Perfect Verb and the Condition of Assertion

In every example I gave above to show how the PNTM violates one of the basic characteristics of the perfect verb in PA, I also pointed to another factor at play in that context, that is, the lack of assertion.

Assertion has been extensively studied in the syntactic analysis of the sentence (see Schachter, 1973; Keenan, 1976; Givon, 1973, 1975, 1976; Klima & Beluggi, 1973; among many others). I will here use these studies as a background to

show that assertion applies not only to the syntax of the sentence, but has also its pragmatic role in conveying the TM and NTM and that this factor affects the use and characteristics of the perfect verb in PA. When I can find the same lexical item in both the TM and NTM, I will use it to show the effect of assertion and the lack of it on the same lexical item.

Here, I will discuss the following points as conditions that effect the assertiveness of a perfect verb in PA narrative discourse.

1. Negation vs. affirmation,
2. Human vs. nonhuman subjects,
3. Specific vs. nonspecific subjects,
4. Animate vs. inanimate objects, and
5. Main vs. subordinate clauses.

I am also aware that I should include interrogation, considered in the literature of syntactic analysis to be on the bottom of the hierarchy of assertion. But, in fact, interrogation is not used at all with the perfect verb in this kind of discourse, which also proves the characteristics given to it in terms of its assertion in the studies of syntax.

I must also mention that all the characteristics that I will discuss concerning the condition of assertion here involve only the perfect verb. The imperfect (and any other constituent) in the NTM undergoes all these processes that make it nonassertive. It is interrogated, negated, subordinated, used with abstract nouns, etc., which I will not



discuss in this paper due to time and space limitations. I also need to mention that, while the imperfect of the NTM is subject to all those conditions that make it nonassertive, the imperfect of the TM is not. This brings another important point into focus, that is, assertion is a characteristic of the TM and lack of assertion is a characteristic of the NTM.

At any point in the NTM, several factors that could affect the assertiveness of the perfect verb could be seen at work together. Below I will give examples of the PTM and of the PNTM. Whenever possible, I will try to give examples of the same lexical item and point out the difference in both its function and its characteristics at each point.

1. Negation vs. affirmation:

The PTM is affirmative. Negation occurs only with the PNTM:

shāf- u      n- nās      (A:6)  
saw-they the-people  
"They saw the people."

Sār l-i zamān ma -shuf-t- ō -sh (A:26)  
became to-me time neg.-saw -I-him-neg.  
"I have not seen him for a long time."

ma<sup>7</sup> smi9-na ?illa S-Swāt b - i - SīH -u (E:8)  
heard-we the-voices Ind.-they-shout-pl.  
"We suddenly heard shouting."

ma -smi9 -t-esh (D:45)  
neg.-heard-I-neg.  
"I did not hear."

?ij- u (B:66)  
came-they  
"They came."

mā jī -nā-hom bi ?aswe (B:99)  
neg. came-we-them with cruelty  
"We did not approach them cruelly."

In the above examples, the same lexical item is used once in the TM and again in the NTM. The first use is in the affirmative; the second is in the negative.

The negation of the same lexical item affects its characteristics. While the perfect in A:6 was shown previously to be punctual, the same negated lexical item in A:26 is used in a durative context. Indeed, the time adverbial zamān is mainly used in PA with negations.

\*Sār li zamān shufto  
 "I have seen him for a long time."

??zaman shufto  
 "I saw him a long time ago."

? shufto zamān  
 "I saw him a long time ago."

In the last example, a period of pause is needed to separate between the punctuality of the verb and positing it in the remote past.

The same conditions of A:6 and A:26 can also be seen at work in B:66 and B:99. The verb of B:66 is punctual; when it is negated, it loses its punctuality. The loss of the glottal stop at the beginning of this verb, which one may argue is a loss of an abruptness, occurs only in such conditions. Negation, as can be seen, has affected the dynamicity and punctuality of the same lexical item.

Negation can affect the dynamicity of the perfect verb in another way, that is, it detransitivizes the verb. This can be seen in D:46 and other examples in the text.

The above are examples of the effect of negation on the same lexical item. Negation renders the verb functional in

the NTM area of the discourse. I also mentioned before that negation does not apply to the imperfect of the TM, although it does to the imperfect of the NTM. What I pointed out then is that assertion and the lack of it are the characteristics of the TM and the NTM, respectively. In this sense, negation can also be seen to manifest itself in ways other than the particles of negation seen so far, though these particles are the essential constituents that the perfect employs for negation. One of the other means of negation is the use of opposite words. For example, Givon (1970) discusses cases of negation (or the semantics of pairing relations of lexical items), where one lexical item is considered more basic than the other. He gives examples of adjectives, i.e., big:small, fast:slow, heavy:light, etc. Considering the constituents of the NTM, we can see such factors of negation at play in most of its constituents. Indeed, one can see the NTM as presenting the "negative" conditions behind which the TM is given. For example, speaker A states in her first utterance: ruH-na nzūr--"we went to visit." Speaker B gives the following in her NTM: ma-zur-nā-sh--"we did not visit." Here, it is not the PTM that is negated, it is the imperfect of the TM, which in this case indicates the purpose of the whole activity given in those texts.

Furthermore, the modalities used in the NTM (lāzem--"must," mnuTlob--"we ask," etc.), as well as abstract nouns like Zulom--"oppression," diktatoriyye--"dictatorship" are

also cases that can be argued to be the negations of their positive counterparts, that is, "justice" and "democracy." But I will not here indulge in the constituents of the NTM in spite of their fascination and challenge to an analyst. I will limit my discussion to the perfect verb.

2. The subject of the PTM is human:

The subject of the PTM is human; the subject of the PNTM has a variety of semantic characteristics, e.g.,

ʔām - u      da?? - u      fi bint min il-banāt (C:20)  
stood-they grabbed-they in girl of the-girls  
"They came and grabbed one of the girls."

ʔām -at      li- ʔyāme      (D:57)  
stood-she the-doomsday  
"Hell broke (the doomsday stood up/came)."

Til9 -t la bāb      is-sijen barra (A:35)  
went out-I to door the-prison out  
"I went out to the prison door."

mu9āmāle sayyʔa      Til9 -at kul mu9āmālit-hom (A:57)  
treatment bad came out-she all treatment-their  
"Their treatment turned out/came out/proved to be, bad."

mā Hamal - u      l-bint w ʔimm -ha ʔilla zafat-  
carried-they the-girl and mother-her      threw-  
ū -hom (D:56)  
they-them  
"They suddenly carried the girl and her mother and threw them away."

ʔa9Sāb-i mā      Ham1 -at -ni (B:7 and B:63)  
nerves-my neg. carried-she-me  
"I could not endure (my nerves did not carry me)."

Each of the above examples is a clause with a perfect verb. Every two consecutive clauses have the same lexical item. The first of each is PTM and the second is PNTM. The factor that affects such functions of each verb (and which affects its characteristics) is the semantics of the subject of each. Subjects of the TM verbs refer to human beings,

those of the NTM do not. In each verb of the TM, the subject verb agreement suffix is governed by one of the members of the two groups discussed in chapter four, and which constitute the agents/patients of that incident. The suffix -u in D:20 and D:57 refers to the soldiers. The suffix -t in A:35 refers to the speaker. In none of these clauses does the subject surface; only its anaphor does. In the clauses of the NTM, the nonhuman subject surfaces, although the subject verb agreement suffix also does. The subject in each of these clauses differs. In the first and second, it is an abstract noun, and in the third it is a plural nonhuman. In all of them, it is, however, definite. But the fact that they are not human is what renders their verbs functional in the NTM.

This factor also affects the dynamicity and punctuality of the perfect verb. This, though, differs with the degree of concreteness the subject refers to. In D:58, reference to a hypothetical entity can take any shape the speaker wants to describe it in. Thus, "hell erupts" in a punctual manner, but "paradise" is durative (which is, for PA speakers \*?amat l-janne--"paradise broke," but gishna l-janne--"we lived the paradise"). The punctuality/durativity of hypothetical references can be seen to show the opposite of those of reality. In hypothetical contexts, the negative is punctual while the positive is durative.

The unmentioned reference of the abstract noun in A:56 is verifiable. An examination of the events from A:36

reference, cannot be punctual. Tested with a punctual time adverbial, the verb Til9 in both contexts shows different aspects.

Tli9-t labāb is-sijen barra fi laHZa  
 "I went out to the prison door in a moment."

\*mu9āmale sayy?a Til9-at kull mu9āmalit-hom fi laHZa  
 "Their treatment turned out to be bad in a moment."

None of these verbs will accept a durative time adverb.

\*Tli9-t la bāb is sijen barra lamuddet talat sāgāt  
 "I went out to the prison door for three hours."

\*mu9āmale sayy?a Til9-at kul mu9āmalit-hom lamuddet  
talat sāgāt  
 "Their treatment turned out to be bad for three hours."

If we try a developmental adverb with the verb in both contexts, we find it also works differently.

shwayy ishwayy Tli9t la bāb is-sijen barra  
 "Bit by bit I (then) got out."

Tli9t la bāb is-sijen barra shwayy ishwayy  
 "I went outside slowly."

\*shway ishway mu9āmale sayy?a Til9-at . . .  
 "Step by step bad treatment turned out . . ."

As is clear, while the same lexical form in A:35 is punctual, that of A:56 accepts neither a punctual, a durative nor a developmental time adverbial. How, then, do we account for the difference in these verbs? If we try the dynamicity vs. staticity test (Quirk, 1972:39, 48), we find that, contrary to the dynamicity test given in Quirk (and others), the punctual verb in A:35 will not accept the progressive unless we add a habitual time adverbial, while the verb in A:56 will, but will indicate a habitual activity, and not a progressive one.

\*9am b-a-Tla9 la bāb is-sijen barra  
 "I am going out to the prison door."

9am b-a-Tla9 la bāb is-sijen barra kull yōm  
 "I go out (am going out) to the prison door every day  
 (habitual)."

mu9āmale sayy?a 9am b-ti-Tla9 kul mu9āmalit-hom  
 "Their treatment is turning out to be bad (generally  
 or habitually)."

If we try to use "every day" in the last sentence, it  
 will not be acceptable. If, on the other hand, we use the  
 adverb "day after day," we can have a meaningful sentence.

?? kull yōm mu9āmale sayy?a 9am b-ti-Tla9 kull . . .  
yōm wara yōm mu9āmale sayy?a 9am b-ti-Tla9 kull mu9ā-  
 malit-hom  
 "Day after day, their treatment proves (is proving)  
 out to be bad."

If we try to nominalize these verbs, we find

Tāl9 la bāb is-sijen barra  
 "I am going out to the prison door outside."

mu9āmale sayy?a Tāl9-a kull mu9āmalit-hom  
 "Their treatment (had) proved to be bad."

The above test for the verb Tile9--"to go out" in its  
 TM and NTM contexts is not intended to give a ready and fast  
 solution for their differences. If interpretation is to  
 be given according to the last test, then we can say (with  
 reference to Cowell, 1964:269 ff., and McCarus, 1976:11  
 ff.) that the difference has to do with the aspect of those  
 verbs. But the tests done with time adverbials contradicts  
 with such an interpretation. This obliges me not to give  
 an opinion at the moment, and to suffice by pointing out  
 the differences this verb exhibits in each context.

The noun phrase in B:6 and B:62, which is animate but not human, is used in such context only with the negative particle; it is ungrammatical in the affirmative.

\*ʔa9Sāb-i Haml-at-ni  
 "My nerves carried me."

Thus, the use of such kind of noun as subject with the verb Hamal renders a modality interpretation for the perfect verb.

In all the above examples of the PNTM, negation is present. In B:7 and B:63, and A:56 and D:57, a constituent of negation is present. In D:57, we can interpret "hell" as negative in terms of Vendler's and Givon's analyses, pointed out above.

The characteristics of the subject also apply to the verbs with a t- prefix derivation mentioned earlier. Such verbs were regarded as PNTM. However, if the subject surfaces and it refers to an animate human NP, the verb then is TM; if it does not, then the verb is NTM.

t-faja? -na bi l- ʔahāli Sar - u y -Sawwt-  
 surprised-we by the-families started-they they-shout-  
 u (C:3)

pl.

"We were surprised by the families (who) started to shout."

t-hayya? l-i nafs il-manZar (D:38)

shaped to-me same the-scenery

"I imagined the same scenery (the same scenery shaped itself to me)."

Both perfect verbs above are verbs with a detransitivizing derivation. Yet, when the subject surfaces and is human, the verb is TM; when it is not, the verb is PNTM. The same verb of C:3 is used in C:2 without a surface subject; the verb then lacks the specification of the animate subject needed for it to be assertive and is thus NTM.



3. Specific vs. nonspecific subject:

The subject of a PTM is specific; the subject of PNTM is not.

fāt - u y -sakkr-u 9ala Hāl -ho (D:16)  
 entered-they they-close-pl. on self-their  
 "They entered too close on themselves."

?illi fāt - u zār - u ?abil -na (B:11)  
 who entered-they visited-they before-us  
 "Those who entered and visited before us."

Hāy kul illi HaSal (A:70)  
 this all what happened  
 "This is all that happened."

9umur-ha hay lli HaSl -at 9umur-ha  
 life -her this-f that happened-she life -her  
 ma HaSl -at (B:105)  
 neg. happened-she  
 "What happened never happened before."

The first verb of each two consecutive clauses is TM. The last three verbs are part of relative clauses. Yet, while A:70 is TM, B:11 and B:105 are not. All three would lack assertion as part of a relative clause as discussed in the literature, if the condition of being in a relative clause were to be strictly observed as a rule instead of as a tendency. A:70, however, does not. It is a TM clause. The reason is the specific reference of the NP hāy--"this," which refers to the whole text that preceded it and answers the question "what happened?" given to the speakers. In B:103, combined with the negation of the clause, the suffix -at--"she/it" lacks specific reference; it can refer to a single feminine animate or inanimate entity (bint--"girl," wa?9a--"a fall," wara?a--"a piece of paper" or to plural inanimate, Hrūb--"battles," wrā?--"papers"). Thus, the verb

here lacks assertion through the lack of specific reference of the pronoun suffixed to the verb (see Sawaie, 1980, on the lack of specification of the pronoun "she" in Arabic).

#### 4. Object of a transitive verb:

A transitive verb is expected to have an object; when it does not, it lacks assertion and thus is used in the NTM.

shāf- u      n- nās      (A:6)  
saw-they the-people  
"They saw the people."

wa la shuf-na ?iHna (B:12)  
and neg. saw-we we  
"We did not see."

The verb in A:6 is PTM; that of B:12 is not. The first has an object; the second does not. Negation could be the factor to render the verb nonassertive. Here, another factor besides that of negation is added to lessen the assertiveness of the verb, that is, lack of an object.

There could be an object for a transitive verb, and the verb is not negated. Yet, it is NTM.

?akal- u      bahdale (D:25, 26)  
ate -they insult  
"They ate an insult (i.e., they were insulted)."

Here, the reason that the verb lacks assertion is the nature of the NP in the position of an object. It is an abstract noun and it is neither definite nor animate. Such cases that affect the assertiveness of the verb were discussed when the NP is in the position of subject, too.

#### 5. Main vs. subordinate clause:

The PTM is the verb of the main clause. Any time this is violated, the perfect verb becomes a PNTM.

Til9 - u ha n-niswān Sār - u y -?ūl-  
 went out-they these the-women started-they they-say-  
 u ?allahu ?akbar (B:4, 5)

pl. God greater  
 "The women went out and started saying 'God is greater.'"

fāt - u y -sakkr-u 9ala Hāl -hom (D:17)  
 entered-they they-close-pl. on self-their  
 "They entered to close on themselves."

nizl - u majmū9a (A:5) shāf- u n- nās b- i -  
 got off-they group saw-they the-people - they-  
 Sawwt-u w b- i -9ayyT-u (A:6)  
 shout-pl. and - they- cry -pl.  
 "A group got off (A:5) They saw the people shouting  
 and crying."

The above are examples of the PTM as the verb of the  
 main clause. Following are examples of the perfect in sub-  
 ordinate clauses:

?alla b -yi-9lam shū 9iml-at -il-ha (E:19)  
 God Ind.-he-knows what did -she-to-her  
 "God knows what she did to her."

wa la ti - SH -i wēn ?inti Tli9- t -i wa  
 and neg.you-aware-f. where you-f. went-you-f. and  
 la wēn ?inti wSil - t -i (D:64)  
 neg. where you-f. reached-you-f.  
 "And you would not know where you had gone or where  
 you had reached."

?ana t-hayya?-at l-i zayy il-bawwābāt lli sakkar-  
 I - shaped-she to-me like the- gates that closed-  
u l-balad fī -ha (D:37)  
 they the-city with-it  
 "I imagined it (it shaped itself to me) like the gates  
 they had closed the city with."

?al - u Til9- u l-masajīn wlād-hom 9alē-hom  
 said-they came-they the-prisoners sons-their on -them  
 w ?al - ū -l -hom ?intu jayy -īn t -zūrū -na  
 and said-they-to-them you coming-pl. you-visit-us  
 la ?ēsh (B:13)  
 for what  
 "They said (that) their imprisoned sons came to them  
 and told them 'why are you coming to visit us?'"

The underlined perfect verbs above are PNTM. They all  
 occur in subordinate clauses. The first (E:19) is subordinated

to an imperfect indicative; the second (D:64) to a subjunctive; the third (D:37) to a pentaliteral verb, and the fourth (B:14) to a verb of saying. There are several points to notice here:

a. Five out of these six verbs have their counterparts in the TM:

Tli9 of D:65 and B:14 is PTM in C:16, A:35, 62; B:3, 106, 118, and 117.

wSil- of D:65 is PTM in D:33.

sakkar- of D:37 is PTM in B:120.

The sixth verb 9iml- --"to do" is the generic form of the Arabic verb in the perfect.

b. The perfect in the first three examples is used for hypothetical situations.

c. The subordinate clauses of E:19 and D:64 could well have been used for interrogation had they not been subordinated to an indicative and a subjunctive:

shū 9iml-at-il-ha--"what did she do to her?"

wēn ?inti Tli9-ti--"where did you go?"

The lack of assertion in interrogatives has been well studied. This lack of assertion also applies to the relative clauses (D:37). What this means is that, in order for a perfect to be subordinated either to an imperfect or to a verb of the pentaliteral form, it has first to undergo a process of deassertivization (by interrogation or relativization) in order for the imperfect or a pentaliteral perfect to govern it.

The last point confirms the discussion of the perfect, imperfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive that I presented in section 5.2 of this chapter and points to the fact that a hierarchy of assertion can be given for the verb in PA. Seen from left to right, the hierarchy would be

Perfect > Indicative > Subjunctive.

This hierarchy, however, is drastically altered if the perfect occurs in a subordinate clause. Subordinated to an imperfect, the perfect verb will point to the extreme contrary of its nature (which is assertion) and will become even less assertive than any of the imperfect verbs or the pentavalent verbs by referring to hypothetical events. The perfect verb thus stands on both ends of the continuum of assertion in PA, with its unmarked occurrence at the extreme assertive end, being that of assertion; and its marked occurrence at the extreme nonassertive end, being that of nonassertion.

The last examples show another factor that has been at work with the PNTM throughout, that is, negation. If we want to consider a hierarchy of the factors that affect the assertion of the perfect verb, negation will be on top of them in terms of frequency of occurrence. However, if the hierarchy is to be recognized in terms of the effect on the function of the perfect verb, interrogation will be on top of it since no interrogated perfect exists in this kind of discourse. Next will come subordination of the perfect, since it puts it on the other end of assertion, that is, it makes it function for hypothetical events.

The function of the verb in the TM or NTM affects the characteristics of the imperfect in a similar way. This will be my next point of discussion.

### 5.2.3 The Imperfective of the TM and the Imperfective of the NTM

The NTM is the area where the personal and subjective attitudes in discourse are expressed. All kinds of modalities, abstractions, embeddings, etc., which I have extensively analyzed and shown to indicate lack of assertion, are used in that context. This is also the area where the imperfective is used. Out of 326 imperfectives used in the five texts, 277 are used in the NTM. Furthermore, when we look at the five texts, we find that the number of the TM clauses does not vary greatly from speaker to speaker. What varies is the number of the NTM clauses, which include both imperfective clauses and equational clauses. Since my concern in this paper is the verb, I will not here treat the equational clause, which is verbless in Arabic (see Cantarino, 1975:5 ff.; Cowell, 1964:405).

Below is a frequency count of the number of imperfectives used in each text. I also give the number of perfect verbs used in each text for the purpose of comparison. The reasons behind such wide differences in the use the imperfect will be given after the frequency count is given.

<u>Text</u>	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>
A	37	72
B	46	149
C	24	27
D	51	40
E	40	38

As the table shows, the number of perfect verbs used does not vary as greatly over the text as the use of the imperfective. Indeed, we can divide the speakers here into two categories in terms of the ratio of the perfect and imperfective verbs used by each. Speakers C, D, and E have almost the same numbers of perfect and imperfective verbs used in their discourses. Speakers A and B differ from the three others in terms of the ratio of the perfect and imperfective verbs used by each. Speaker A uses almost twice as many imperfect verbs as perfect verbs; speaker B, three times as many. This is explainable in terms of the function of the imperfective as the verb that carries the personal and subjective, on the personality level and in terms of emotional involvement of each speaker. Speakers A and B were the ones directly involved in the conflict; speakers C, D, and E were, relatively speaking, observers. Furthermore, although speaker A was the one directly involved in the conflict, speaker B was her mother and as such, the emotional involvement was expected to be higher, a reason why she used the largest number of imperfectives.

Not all the imperfectives, however, are used in the NTM. Out of the 326 imperfectives used in the five texts, 49 are used in the TM and the rest in the NTM. Following is a count of the imperfect verbs used by each speaker in the TM and the NTM.

<u>Text</u>	<u>TM</u>	<u>NTM</u>
A	10	62
B	12	137
C	8	19
D	6	34
E	10	23

Another point that can be observed in the above counts is that, regardless of the number of imperfectives each speaker used, when they employed this form in the TM, they almost all employed the same number of verbs.

What I will do below is to try to account for the use of the imperfective in the TM. The imperfect in the NTM will be treated briefly but will be looked at to determine how it may throw light on the imperfect of the TM.

#### 1. The imperfect of the NTM:

Here, we need to differentiate between the use of the indicative and that of the subjunctive. The subjunctive is the verb used for modalities. Thus, it rarely occurs without being subordinated to one of the modals. The indicative was described earlier as the verb of actualities (or assertions in Cowell's terms); thus, it is mainly used to represent activities that usually happen, are a habit or are done at the moment of utterance. In some cases the indicative will be used for promises, but these are rare. Here, I will give a few examples of each.

#### Subjunctive:

lāzem ?intu tdīru bālkom 9alēhom (B:81)  
 "You must take care of them."



?alla yiSra9hom (D:15)  
 "May God smash them."

walla la-nHaTTmo (A:44)  
 "We swear to smash him."

?immak tinSimet 9alek (D:28)  
 "May your mother suffer your loss."

waddu la-duwal yunshuluna (B:29)  
 "Send to the government to help us."

#### Indicative:

hassa bitzūru (A:29)  
 "Now/we promise you will visit."

bitrawweH (B:150)  
 "(We predict) she will leave."

lēsh btuDrubūhom (A:48)  
 "Why do you beat them?"

bizanzino fīna (B:22)  
 "They (as a habit) continuously put us in cells."

The difference between the subjunctive and the indicative in the NTM can be seen from the above examples. The subjunctive cannot stand in its own right as a verb; it is always subordinated to one of the modals. The indicative is not used with the modals. It indicates activities which are or are expected to be actual.

#### 2. The imperfect of the NTM and assertion:

Other than lack of assertion which the subjunctive indicates through its use with the modals, the imperfective of the NTM (both subjunctive and indicative) meet all the conditions discussed in the preceding section that affect the assertion of the verb. The imperfective of the NTM is negated, interrogated, used with abstract and nonhuman nouns, embedded, etc. Below I will show only a few of these examples.

l-wāḥad ya9ni ma-b-it-Hamal-sh (A:8)  
 "One cannot endure."

b-i-ʔul-ū-l-hom mā-l-kom b-it-9ayyT-u w b-it-Sawwt-u (A:16)  
 "They tell them (were telling them) 'why are you shouting and crying?'"

mish lāzem t-ʔaddm-ū-l-hom ha l-ʔihāne (B:85)  
 "You must not give them this insult."

The first example has a nonspecific subject, is negated and has the word ya9ni--"that is to say," which is used for hesitation.<sup>8</sup> Example A:16 has an embedded clause, which is one of interrogation, and example B:85 has an abstract noun in the position of the object of the verb. The verb itself in B:85 is subordinated to a modal, which itself is negated.

These are instances of the conditions that render the imperfective in the NTM nonassertive. In contrast with the lack of assertion of the imperfective in the NTM, I will now show that the imperfect can be used in the TM under the most assertivizing conditions, just as the perfect acquires a nonassertive characteristic under the opposite conditions, though it always keeps its normal assertive characteristic under the assertivizing conditions regularly found in the TM.

The imperfect (especially its least assertive member, the subjunctive) is used in the TM in the extreme opposite of its normal or regular function. In the TM, the subjunctive takes the lead to introduce the new moves (or subtexts) of the narratives.

Forty-nine imperfect verbs are used in the TM of the five texts. Out of these 49, 41 are subjunctive and the rest are indicative. I will treat the subjunctive and indicative separately.

### 3. The subjunctive in the TM:

The subjunctive in the TM is used to initiate a new move (subtext) in the narratives. This is done through the use of Sār--"started/become" governing the subjunctive in the TM, e.g.,

wʔifna 9ala bāb is-sijen (B:1)  
"We stopped at the prison door."

nzilna mu il-bās (B:2)  
"We got off the bus."

Tli9-na la l-bās it-tani (B:3)  
"We got up the next bus."

Til9-u ha n-niswan Sār-u y-ʔūlu ʔallahu ʔakbar (B:4)  
"The women went out and started shouting 'God is greater.'"

The above example shows that the events continue going on in a neutral successive manner, until Sār and the subjunctive are used, indicating a new move in the narrative to come.

All the subjunctives used in the TM are preceded by Sār. In the frequency count of the perfect verbs used in the five texts, I gave Sār as a special category of the verb. I did so because Sār is by far the most frequently used lexical item in the texts. It is used 24 times. Out of those 24 times, 18 are used in the TM and, out of the 41 occurrences of the subjunctive in the TM, 31 are governed by Sār. Thus, the characteristics of the verb Sār need to be explained.

#### Sār:

In the few works done on Arabic discourse, the verb Sār is not treated. It has, however, been analyzed in the treatment of the Arabic sentence. As such, the AGs analyzed it as belonging to a 13-verb category which they termed

kāna w ?axawātha--"was and its sisters." The AGs were mainly concerned with the syntactic function of these verbs, which they described to be "nominalizing the theme (?al-mubtada?) and making the predicate accusative" (Ar-Rajihi, 1975:111). Yet, when the AGs described the semantic characteristics of each of these verbs, Sār was considered to have the meaning of "change from one state of affairs to another" (Ar-Rajihi, 1975:120; Al-Hashimi, 1974:143, note 5; Abdul-Hamid, 1936: 127, 263).

The Arabists described the semantics of Sār in the same way as the AGs did (Wright, 1964, Vol. 2:107; Cantarino, 1975, Vol. 2:201). Cowell terms Sār and the rest of its group members "linking verbs" besides the name given to them by the AGs. He mentions that Sār and the rest of its group members are "almost always complemented, paratactically, by a predicate. . . . The predicate may be of any sort (i.e., verbal, adjectival, nominal or prepositional)" (1964:452).

The function of Sār to indicate change is already agreed upon. In my view, though, Sār does not only indicate change but it also indicates the inception or abruptness of a change. I will try to show what I mean in the following examples.

mishi--"he walked"

Sār yimshi--"he started to walk."

In the first example, the perfect verb indicates a change from a nonwalking state to a walking one. The second example does that too. Yet, it also shows the beginning or the inception of that change. What I mean to say is that, while the first one treats the change from a previous state to a

new one as a whole unit; with Sār, we see both the whole unit and its inception.

The same can be seen in the following example:

Hlawwat--"she became pretty"

Sārat Hilwe--"she became pretty."

Both indicate a change from one state to another. However, while the first indicates a gradual change, the second indicates an abrupt one, with the indication of its inception. If we try to use a constituent that indicates a gradual/abrupt way of change, we find

Hlawwat shway ishway--"she became pretty bit by bit"

\*Sārat Hilwe shwayy ishwayy--"she became pretty bit  
by bit"

shwayy ishwayy Sārat Hilwe--"bit by bit (step by step)  
she became pretty"

faj?a Sārat Hilwe--"suddenly, she became pretty."

The suitability of the adverb "suddenly" with Sār is an indication of the abruptness of the change. The gradual process itself can be seen prior to the use of Sār, but not after it. The process itself can be gradual, but Sār indicates the end of that gradual process and the turning point into another stage, of which Sār initiates it.

The same way with the perfect verb mishi--"he walked." If we try to use an adverb indicating duration, we find we cannot do so when Sār is used.

mishi lamuddet sā9a--"he walked for an hour"

\*Sār yimshi lamuddet sā9a--"he started to walk for  
an hour"

Sār yimshi lammuddet sā9a kul yōm--"he (has) started to  
walk for an hour  
every day."

The durative adverb cannot be used with Sār, unless it indicates the beginning of a habitual activity, indicated by the adverb "every day."

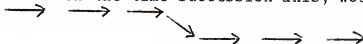
So far, I have shown how Sār indicates the inception of a new activity. I also gave one example from the text. More examples are given below.

fa ?ana hōn wa??af -et w Sur -t ?a-bki fi  
 so I here stood up-I and started-I I-cry in  
 s-sijen (A:24)  
 the-prison  
 "Thus, at this moment, I stood up and started to cry  
 in the prison."

min sa9it- ha 9idem 9a?l- o sh-shabāb w ha  
 from hour-that lost brain-his the-youth and this  
 li-wlēdāt Sār - u kul Hajar hēk (D:58)  
 the- boys started-they all stone like this  
 "From that moment on, the men and boys lost their heads  
 and started throwing stones."

Sār - u yu -Drub-u Hjar w humme yu -Drub-  
 started-they they-hit -pl. stones and they they-hit -  
 u bi l- 9nSi humme yu -Drub-u bi li- Hjar  
 pl. with the-sticks they they-hit -pl. with the-stones  
 w humme yu -Drub-u bi l- 9uSi (B:69-70)  
 and they they-hit -pl. with the-sticks  
 "They started throwing stones and the others were hitting  
 with sticks, those were throwing stones and the others  
 were hitting with sticks."

The above discussion of examples of Sār and the subjunctive, if drawn on the time succession axis, would look like



So, the subjunctive in the TM, preceded by Sār, is used to initiate a new move in the discourse.

#### 4. The subjunctive and translocative verbs:

Another function of the subjunctive in the TM is to indicate an object of purpose. In such clauses, the subjunctive is subordinated to a translocative verb.

ruH -na n- zūr ?ax -ūy (A:1)  
 went-we we-visit brother-my  
 "We went to/in order to visit my brother."

dash9 -at ha l- ?ahāli 9alay-yi t-?anne9  
 rushed-she this-f. the-families at -me she-convince  
 fi-yyi w t-haddi 9alay-yi (B:147)  
 in-me and she-calms at -me  
 "The people rushed at me in order to convince me and  
 to calm me."

9abar - u y -fatsh -u (E:18)  
 entered-they they-search-pl.  
 "They entered in order to search."

The subjunctive is also used after a translocative verb to indicate a condition or situation, termed Hāl by AGs (Ar-Rajihi, 1975:260 ff.; Al-Hashimi, 1974:223 ff.) and circumstantial clauses by Arabists (Cowell, 1964:355, 531; Beeston, 1970:89 ff.). This use of the subjunctive, however, has occurred only once in the texts.

xirj - u y - SiH -u (D:19)  
 went out-they they-shout-pl.  
 "They went out shouting."

The difference between the function of the subjunctive subordinated to a translocative verb as seen in A:1, B:147, and E:18 on one hand and the one in D:19 on the other, has to do with the nature of the subjunctive. In the first three verbs, the subjunctive is a transitive verb; in D:19, it is not (see Rosenhouse, 1976, for direct object clauses in CA and Arabic dialects).

##### 5. The indicative in the TM:

The indicative is used eight times in the TM. In each of its uses, it is preceded by the particle (w)illa--"suddenly." It is used in this context as a historic past (see Comrie, 1976:73 ff.).

w illa waHd-e shurTiyy-e b-ti -msek fiyy-i (A:36)  
 and suddenly one -f. police -f. - she-grab in -me  
 "And suddenly a police woman grabs me."

?illa<sup>9</sup> hī b-it - nuT fi ?alb -hom (D:54)  
 suddenly she - she-jumps in heart-their  
 "And suddenly she jumps in the middle of them."

The above examples of the use of the indicative show how it is used with the focusing particle (w)illa in the TM as a historic past, in order to give a sense of immediacy to this past action.<sup>10</sup>

I have also shown in the preceding paragraphs that out of the 41 occurrences of the subjunctive in the TM, 31 are subordinated to Sār, which has an inceptive aspect. This use of the subjunctive, I indicated, makes the function of the subjunctive in the TM contrastive with that of the NTM. In the NTM, I showed that the subjunctive is used under a wide variety of nonassertive conditions and thus functions as the verb of modalities. In the TM, the subjunctive is used under the most assertive conditions, that is, after the verb of inception, Sār. Such an environment for the subjunctive puts it in the position of leading the new "moves" or "subtexts" in the narratives. I also showed that the rest of the subjunctives are also used in assertive environments, that is, to indicate the purpose of an activity.

But this contrastive function of the subjunctive has also been indicated for the perfect. The perfect, which is the verb of the TM, was shown, on the one hand, to be at the extreme positive end of assertiveness in conveying the TM. On the other hand, it loses its assertive force in the



environment of the NTM to such an extent that it is used for hypothetical situations.

All through my discussion of the verb in both the TM and the NTM, I have tried to point out, and give examples for, the conditions that do not only affect the function of the verb in PA, but also modify its characteristics. My basic concern is the perfect, which has been given several interpretations in the literature, and which, when I intuitively tried to trace the TM through its occurrence, did not yield the high percentage of functional role I expected it to have. Only two-thirds of it did, a factor which made me, in this chapter, enquire into its reasons.

I can conclude this chapter by saying that the perfect verb (in PA) indicates past actions, completed actions, perfectivity, anteriority, event-line, narration (all the characteristics given to it by the analysts), but it has them only under the conditions of assertion. Seen on a diagram, the function of the verb in PA narrative discourse would look like:

The Verb in PA Narrative  
?esh Sar?--"What happened?"

TM			NTM		
Assertion			Nonassertion		
<u>Sār</u> and subjunctive	<u>Willa</u> and indicative	perfect	indicative	modal and subjunctive	subordinated perfect

The chart above sketches the role of the verb in PA narrative discourse. As an answer to the question ʔēsh Sār-- "what happened," the speakers pick out the verb Sār from the question and use it to initiate the new moves in the narrative. The subjunctive is the only verb that occurs after Sār in this context. The indicative is used to highlight certain events. The particle willā-- "and suddenly" precedes it. The perfect itself is the verb of neutral successive events. The three forms occur under the assertive part of discourse, that of the TM. The same verbal forms occur in the nonassertive part of discourse (NTM). Seen from left to right, a hierarchy of assertion can be given for these verbs, as discussed in this chapter.

The perfect of the TM itself has different functions in discourse according to its syntactic arrangement in the clauses. Word order is my point of discussion in the next chapter.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>For the first person plural, the prefix b- assimilates with the prefix n- and is realized phonetically as m-.

<sup>2</sup>There is a controversy in the analysis of the Arabic verb concerning the discontinuous morpheme of the imperfect {i}-root-{u}-, which indicates number, gender and person. I will give the prefix its full corresponding pronoun in English and refer to the suffix in terms of number.

<sup>3</sup>The imperfect prefix -y- has several other realizations. Each will be given its corresponding translation in English when it occurs.

<sup>4</sup>The particle 9am is not used in SA. Cowell (1964:319 ff.) calls it "the particle of actuality."

<sup>5</sup>Unlike the AGs' description of the perfect verb tamm-- "completed," an opinion which I agree with and here try to

explain, most Arabists do not see the Arabic verb as such. They interpret its time reference in terms of both the English past and present perfect (Cantarino, 1975:69; Cowell, 1964:324).

<sup>6</sup>Dall--"remained" and tamm--"remained" are cognates in PA.

<sup>7</sup>ma . . . ?illa is one of the constituents not used in SA. It is another variant of ?illa--"suddenly." ?illa is used preceding either a noun or an imperfect; ma precedes the perfect. Both mean "suddenly."

<sup>8</sup>ya9ni--"that is . . ." is a marker of hesitation. It is used extensively in the five texts, but not one time in the TM. Considering that nonassertive forms co-occur together (Quirk, 1972:376), ya9ni can be considered the nonassertive form of Hatman--"for sure."

<sup>9</sup>?illa is also used in clause B:119 to mean "except." This meaning of ?illa is the one discussed in the literature.

<sup>10</sup>McCarus (1976:5) considers the function of the imperfect in narrative discourse to impart a sense of immediacy. In PA narrative discourse, this sense of immediacy described by McCarus functions only when the particle ?illa is used. This means that it can only be found in the TM. The several functions of the imperfect in the NTM have been described. Imparting a sense of immediacy (through the use of ?illa) is not one of these functions.

CHAPTER SIX  
THE PERFECT, THE  
IMPERFECT AND WORD ORDER

In view of the characteristics presented so far, the word order of the perfect in its clause is also expected to be functional in conveying the assertive characteristics of the TM. The clauses of the NTM are also expected to convey their lack of assertion in the ordering of their constituents. This means that the perfect verb in the TM, which has the most assertive characteristics, is expected to be in clause-initial position, while the imperfect is not so expected. Wright (Vol. 1:59) held a similar opinion when analyzing SA over a hundred years ago. He indicated that, "in the perfect, the act is placed conspicuously in the foreground, because completed; in the imperfect, the agent, because still occupied in the act" (59). Lehman (1976) and Zughouli (1979), however, mention that the Arabic dialects are becoming SV in word order. In the following, we will try to find out where these opinions stand in terms of word order in PA.

From the preceding analysis, one can observe the relation between assertion and initial position,<sup>1</sup> action in the perfect<sup>2</sup> verb precedes the pronoun suffix, the pronoun affix precedes the verb stem in the imperfect, the verb with a t- prefix derivation was shown to be less assertive than other verbs, the perfect clause was shown to be the main clause

which initiates a complex sentence in the linear ordering of its clauses, the perfect verb was shown to occur in a position not preceded by any other constituent to determine its time reference or modality, and the imperfect was shown to be preceded by such constituents. Thus, by analogy, I expect the perfect of the TM also to be of initial position in a clause, that is, I expect the TM clauses to exhibit a VS word order, while the imperfect clauses to exhibit an SV word order.

An investigation of the word order of the perfect clauses will prove or, perhaps, disprove the hypothesis. Following is a chart of how much each of the five texts orders these two constituents in the TM. I will also give examples of the word order of the NTM for comparison. This will be given after the TM clauses are discussed. Since the TM consists of not only perfect verbs but also imperfect verbs and linking verbs,<sup>3</sup> all of them will be represented for an overview of what these clauses look like. The following abbreviations will be used:

P = perfect verb

I = imperfect verb

L = linking verb

N = noun phrase acting as agent

No = noun phrase being the object of the activity denoted by the verb.

Note: When only an N appears, it means that the structure is not a verbal clause.

Text A	Text B	Text C	Text D	Text E
P	P	P	P	P
P N	P	P	P N I	P N
P	P	N L I	No I	P P
P N	P N	P I	P	N P
P N	L I	N P	N L I	P
P	P	N L I	P I	P
P N	N I	P	N	N I
P	P	P N	P I	N P
P	N P	L N	N P	I
N P	P	L I	P	No P
L I	P	P P	L	P P P
P N	L N	P	P	P
L I	N	N P	P	L I
N P	N P	L N	N P	P N
P	P	L I	N P	P
P	L I	P	No P	P
N I	N	P	P	P
N P	P N	P	N P	N P
P	P I	P P	N P	N P
N P P	P	L I	N	L I
N P	L N	P	N I	N P
P	No P	No P I	P	L
L I	P	P	P N	N I
P	P	P	L	P
P	L I	P	N I	L
P	P	N P	N I	N
No P	P		N I	N P P
P	P		N P	No P P
N P	P		P	No P P
	P		P	
	N L I			
	P N I			
	N N I			
	N P			

The above chart shows not only the perfect verb clauses of the TM but also other structures accompanying them in that context. I will be only concerned at the moment with the ordering of the constituents of the perfect clause, being the main clause of the TM. A frequency count is presented below to show the numbers of the perfect clauses without a separate noun phrase (NP) in the surface, those with an NP preceding the verb, and those with a following NP.

<u>Text</u>	<u>Perfect Clauses Used</u>	<u>ØV</u>	<u>NV</u>	<u>VN</u>
All	114	68	33	13
A	25	12	8	5
B	24	17	4	3
C	19	14	4	1
D	21	12	7	2
E	25	13	10	2

In the following paragraphs, I will describe the function of each of these NPs.

#### 6.1 The Deleted Noun Phrase

As is obvious, most of the perfect clauses have their NP deleted (that is, ØV). The environments for this deletion are

1. The initial clause<sup>b</sup> of each TM of a text, and
2. Anaphoricity to an NP mentioned in the previous clause, e.g.,

dasha9-u 9alayy Hawāli mīt jundi (B:112) Dall-u yjish-shu bi n-nās . . . (B:118)  
 "Around a hundred soldiers rushed on me (112) They . . . (118)."

In B:112, the NP (underlined) surfaces. In B:118, the NP does not surface as a separate constituent. Instead, the suffix -u--"they" acts as an anaphor to it.

The environment for the NP deletion is given. A question now arises. Why do some NPs surface? Furthermore, and most specifically, why do some NPs that surface follow the verb and others precede the verb? I will treat them one at a time.

## 6.2 VS Word Order

The 13 occurrences of the NP following the verb in the five texts are all instances where the referent of the NP is new to the events. The NPs all refer to agents of the action denoted by the perfect verb. Since there are only two groups acting as agent and patient in the whole narratives, the subject NP refers to a submember of either of these two groups. When the NP follows the verb, it refers to an entity new to the event. Examples are given below:

ruH-na--"we went" (A:1)

nizl-u majmū9a--"a group went down" (A:5)

nzil-na ?iHna--"we went down" (A:7)

nizl-u majmū9a min il-bāS  
"a group from the bus went down" (A:10)

?ajat il-majmū9a lli kānat zāyre  
"the group that had been visiting came" (A:12).

The above NPs are all submembers of the group rendered by the pronoun suffix -na--"we" in the first clause. Each of these submembers is mentioned for the first time, thus, a full NP is used and it follows the verb. The NP is not stressed. Another example is:



dasha9-u 9alēha l-jēsh  
 "the army rushed at her" (E:22).

Here again, the verb initiates the clause, while the NP, which refers to an agent new to the narrative, follows the verb. Again, this is similar to the word order of A:5, 7, 10 and 12. We have a VS word order in this context.

The above two examples, however, are not exhaustive. Any time we see a VN word order, we know that the agent is new to the event. This can be seen in the rest of the TM clauses of the texts.

On the other hand, not every new agent is treated, syntactically, in this manner. New agents can be given in an SV word order. This is done if its presence lack neutrality. Below we will examine such cases.

### 6.3 SV Word Order

When we consider the following examples, we find that my previous statement about the VS word order needs revision. The VS word order does not indicate newness of the agent to the event; it indicates a neutral agent, i.e., a neutral attitude on the part of the speaker toward the agent.

I described the NP in E:22 to indicate a new agent. In fact, and after reconsidering the text, I found that it has occurred previously in the text. Its first occurrence is in clause E:11, and it precedes the verb, not follows it:

?illa l-jēsh il-muxābarāt w id-dawriyyāt  
 suddenly the-army the-intelligence and the- patrol  
 w hāda l-kul dasha9 9alē-na (E:11)  
 and this the-all rushed on -us  
 "Suddenly the army, patrol soldiers, intelligence service men and all, rushed at us."

This is the first occurrence of this NP. But before I proceed explaining why it is NP-initial, I need to give its environment as seen in its preceding clause.

ma smi9 -na' ?illa S- Swāt b-i- SīH -u (E:8)  
 heard-we the-voices - - shout-pl.  
 "We suddenly heard shouting."

Although E:11 is the first occurrence of the NP l-jēsh--"the army," it is characterized by a lack of neutrality. This lack of neutrality can be seen by (1) the use of the particle ?illa--"suddenly," and (2) the use of ma . . . ?illa in the previous clause. Clause E:22, on the other hand, lacks the use of this particle before the noun, which is a sign of its lack of emotional intensity, or in the standard terms, its indication of neutrality as compared to E:11.

The use of the particle ?illa preceding an NP to the effect of emotional intensity can be seen in several other contexts, e.g.,

?axad- u bint-i (B:145) ?illa ?ana Sur -t  
 took -they girl-my I started-I  
 ?a- SīH  
 I -shout  
 "They took my daughter (B:145) When suddenly I started to shout."

While the particle ?illa is used for emotional intensity, other signals may be used for a more general concept of "emphasis." Speaker A, for example, uses the adverb hōn--"here/at that moment/consequently."

sa?al-t-hom--"I asked them" (A:13)

fa ?axbar-ū-na--"so they told us" (A:17)

fa ?ana hōn wa??afet w Surt . . . (A:24)  
 "Thus, here/at this instance/consequently I stood up and started . . ."

Furthermore, speaker A, who was shown to use a VS word order in the initial part of her narration (clauses A:5, 7, 10 and 12), uses an SV word order in a later part of her narrative:

w majmū9a min ij-juūd ?ij-u masakū-ni min sha9ri (A:37)  
 "And a group of the soldiers came and caught me by my hair."

w wāHad masak-ni min ra?bit-i (A:38)  
 "And one caught me from my neck."

Considering that the narrator is only describing a succession of incidents, the use of the NP-initial does not seem to agree with the neutrality condition observed earlier for clauses A:5-12. This use of the NP-initial, is, indeed, not neutral. It is true that it is not emphatic in the same way as are the NPs preceded by ?illa. But still, it is not neutral.

The lack of neutrality, I maintain, is indicated both by preposing the NP to a sentence initial position and by the use of the particle w--"and." w precedes clauses with a preposed NP only. The NP may surface (A:37 and 38 above) or it may be deleted due to its anaphoricity with a preposed NP (A:39, 41 and 61, whose NP is deleted due to anaphoricity with the NP in A:37, which precedes the verb). Clauses which are viewed as neutral events in the narratives (e.g., A:1-13 and B:1-8) have both a VS word order and lack the particle w.

Furthermore, the particle willa itself consists of both w and (?)illa. Thus, I described an NP following it to be of a more intense emotion. illa can occur without the w, and the NP after it still indicates a level of focus. The

particle w also accompanies every initial NP which is used for contrast (NPs used for contrast will be discussed below).

The above points to a function of the conjunct w in discourse. Since clauses in the initial part of the discourse (before the conflict starts) succeed each other without the use of w, whether their NPs surface or not, while w is employed in the clauses that succeed each other after the conflict starts, then its function in this context is not just that of a connector, neither is it redundant as it has been described in the analysis of SA. w has another function here, and that function is to point out clauses which lack neutrality in the succession of the events. It is thus employed whether the "focused" NP surfaces or is deleted. Lack of neutrality also gives a clause with an overt NP the SV word order. While w does initiate such clauses, it does not initiate any clause in a VS word order.

From the above discussion and examples, I can make the following generalizations about word order in PA.

1. VS word order is used when the clause simply recounts an event.
2. SV word order indicates lack of neutrality in presenting the event.
3. w is used to point out a clause which lacks neutrality. It is used for such a pragmatic function whether the NP surfaces or not.
4. (w)illa is used for emotional intensity.

5. Both w and w-illa introduce an event presented as nonneutral, and

6. Both can precede only clauses of SV word order; a clause with VS word order cannot be preceded by either of them.

But w does not only point out clauses of emotional intensity ((w)illa, above), it also initiates clauses where the NTM is used for contrast. Contrast is also presented in an SV word order, with conditions different from the ones indicated above.

### 6.3.1 SV Word Order--Contrast

This NP can also be preceded by the particle w (or fa-- "thus") that initiates clauses which lack neutrality. The difference, however, is in the semantic function of this NP. While the focused NP presented in the last section still acts as an agent, this NP is the patient of the act. Syntactically, it differs from the above NP in that the verb indicates a cliticized pronoun in the position of an object, which is anaphoric with this contrastive NP. Following are examples:

w bint-i ?axad- ū -ha (B:120)  
and girl-my took -they-her  
"And as for my daughter, they took her."

w ish-shabāb ilma9-i ?ajjal - u bi  
and the- men with -me postponed-they in  
muHākamit -hom (A:67)  
"And as for the men (who were) with me, they postponed  
sentencing them."

?ish-shabāb lli sinn-hom zGīr xall- ū -hom  
the - men who age -their little kept-they-them  
yu -Drub-u -hom (C:35)  
they-hit -pl.-them  
"And as for the young men, they kept them in order to  
beat them."

Each of the above NPs are patients, not agents of the act denoted by the verb. Their semantic function as such is indicated by the pronoun in the object position cliticized to the verb, and anaphoric with the initial NP.

The contrasted NP can be both a patient and an agent when relative clauses follow it.

w ?iHna ?illi nafad nafad w -illi misk - ū -  
 and we who escaped escaped and-who caught-they-  
 u misk - ū - u w -illi Habas - ū - u  
 him caught-they-him and -who imprisoned-they-him  
 Habas - ū - u (E:52)  
 imprisoned-they-him

"And as for us, those who escaped, escaped; those who were caught, were caught; and those who were imprisoned, were imprisoned (some escaped, some were caught and some were imprisoned)."

The NP initiating sentence E:54 above is referred to in each following clause by the relative pronoun initiating that clause. The difference between the first relative clause and the other two, however, is in their relationship to the NP ?iHna. In the first relative clause, the NP is the agent, thus, no rābiT--"link" surfaces in that clause (see Beeston, 1974; Ashnan & Schriber, 1968; Lewkowicz, 1974; Bakir, 1980). In the last two clauses, the object pronoun -u--"him," cliticized to each verb, is anaphoric to the initial NP of clause E:54. This cliticized pronoun is in the position of the object, which is the position of the initial NP in its relation with the last two relative clauses. As such, the cliticized pronoun links the initial NP when it functions as an object to the verb in the following clauses.

Another device to bring about a contrastive NP is by its initiating a clause which is a (near) mirror image of a preceding one, e.g.:

9abar-u--"they entered" (E:5)

w ?iHna 9abarna warāhom  
 "and we entered after them" (E:6)

xirj - u y - SīH -u (D:19)  
 went out-they they-shout-pl.  
 "They went out shouting."

w illi barra jāwab - ū -hom (D:20)  
 and who out answered-they-them  
 "And those (who were) out answered them."

In such examples, although the NP is in the function of an agent, yet, it differs from the focused NP in that it is not preceded by the particle w-illa--"and suddenly" and the activities denoted by the verb are not the point of contrast. The activities are of the same nature. It is only the NP that is contrasted with the one in the clause before it. There is also a phonetic difference between the two functionally preposed NPs. The initial NP used for emotional intensity is heavily stressed and has a high pitch, while the contrastive NP is less heavily stressed and has a lower pitch.

The above paragraphs are a brief description of the word order of the TM perfect clause. The order V(NP) was found to be more frequent. Each TM of a text is initiated by a V and not by an NP. The pragmatic function of word order was explained. A VN word order indicates neutrality. Any time there is lack of neutrality, the NP is preposed. The preposing of an NP is accompanied by one of the particles that indicate lack of neutrality. A VNP neutral word order is not accompanied by any of these particles. But the pragmatic function of a preposed NP also differs. It is thus

used for general focus, emotionality and contrast. The function of general focus is morphologically conditioned by the particle w--"and" or any of its equivalents. Emotionality is indicated by the particle (w)illa--"and suddenly," intended as an intensifier. w does not surface with VNP clauses, which are described to be of a neutral pragmatic function. A preposed NP can also function for contrast. In such cases, the NP is in the role of a patient. Such role is indicated syntactically and morphologically by the surfacing of a pronoun in the object position cliticized to the verb and by w initiating the clause. Furthermore, an agent NP can be used for contrast if the activities denoted by the verbs of the two contrasted clauses are similar. Both NPs of emotional intensity and contrast are phonetically highlighted by stress and pitch, which the neutral NP lacks.

The above paragraphs concern word order in the TM. For the purpose of comparison only, I will mention the word order in the NTM. The NTM clauses, however, will not be treated the same way as those of the TM have been due to the large number of different constituents that can initiate the clause. I will just refer to some of the varying constituents that can initiate an NTM clause, then compare the clauses that exhibit initial V/NP to those of the TM in terms of their word order.

While a TM clause is initiated either by a verb or a noun, an NTM clause is initiated by a large number of constituent types, e.g.:



Question words: A:16, 42; B:43, 44, 48; E:12, 29; etc.

Negation words: B:6; E:24, 29; etc.

Prepositions: A:63, 66, 18, 19; E:23, 44; etc.

Modals: A:9, 21; B:32; etc.

Time adverbials: B:49; E:2, 16; etc.

Place adverbials: E:59; B:127; etc.

Nouns: A:3, 8, 33-48; B:7, 12, 14-27; etc.

Abstract nouns: B:33, 35; etc.

Participles: A:2; B:32; etc.

Relative pronouns: D:12, 13; etc.

Imperative: B:27-29; etc.

Indicative: D:4; etc.

Subjunctive: A:22, 34; B:45; etc.

Perfect: A:4, 14, 20, 64; E:25, 26; etc.

It must also be mentioned that several of these constituents can occur together in initiating the clause. But, as I indicated earlier, the NTM is an area that challenges an analyst and needs research in its own right.

Here, I will only give a few examples of clauses with the imperfect where the NP surfaces and point out the function of word order in such clauses.

First, it is important to mention that many such clauses are used in subordination to a perfect clause. As such, they may occur with their NP deleted. But, following are clauses whose NP is not deleted.

humme    yu -Drub-u    (B:113)    w    ?ana    ?a-    SiH    (B:116)  
 they    they-hit -pl.                      and    I            I-shout  
 "They were hitting and I was shouting."

If we try to change the word order alone, we find

??? yu-Drub-u humme . . . w ?a-SiH ?ana

humme yu -nsuf -ū -l -hom (E:45) w humme yu -  
 they they-curse-pl.-to-them and they they-  
 nsuf -ū -l -hom  
 curse-pl.-to-them  
 "These were cursing and those were cursing (they were  
 cursing at each other)."

\*yu-nsuf-ū-l-hom humme . . . w yu-nsuf-ū-l-hom humme

la ?asbāb -hom ?in -hom b- i - 9azzb - ū -hom (C:9)  
 for reasons-their that-they - they-torture-they-them  
 "For their reasons that they torture them."

Any trial to exchange the position of the indicative and the  
 NP -hom--"they" in the sentence above would lead to an un-  
 acceptable sentence.

?iH-na mā bid-na t - zur -ū -na (B:15)  
 we neg. want-we you-visit-pl.-us  
 "We don't want you to visit us."

If we try to change the word order in B:15 and put the NP  
 after the verb, we will have

ma bid-na t-zur-ū-na ?iHna  
 "We don't want you to visit us."

The above discussion and examples of word order in the  
 TM and NTM clauses indicate the following.

a. The TM clause is initiated either by a noun or a  
 verb, the order of which is pragmatically conditioned.

b. The NTM clause is initiated by a wide variety of  
 constituent types.

c. The constituent in the subject position of a TM  
 clause is either an agent or a patient; the subject of an  
 NTM clause can include a wide variety of semantic roles.

d. In NTM clauses when the NP surfaces in the subject position, its order with the verb is fixed if it is an agent. In the cases where it is postposed after the verb, it becomes a patient. A postposed NP in the TM is always an agent.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>The pragmatic importance of initial position has been given lengthy treatment in the literature. This has been one of the main points of analysis of the Prague School, discussed in chapter three of this paper.

<sup>2</sup>Among the semantic components of any lexical item, time has been given priority in the linguistic analysis of the constituents of a language. Thus, the hierarchy of verb + noun + adjective is seen accordingly (see Quirk, 1972:39 ff., Lyons, 1978:677 ff.).

<sup>3</sup>Linking verbs have been mentioned in the previous chapter. In the TM, the linking verb used is Sār--"happened/became/started." Its last meaning is what characterizes its use in the TM.

<sup>4</sup>A deleted NP in the initial clause of a text has been observed by several analysts (see Bolinger, 1979:240; Hinds, 1975:90; Kuno, 1975:278; Givon, 1976:177; Zubin, 1979:499).

<sup>5</sup>The particle w initiating clauses has long been a matter of controversy among AGs. The Al-Kufa linguists (and their disciples) considered it redundant, while the Al-Basra linguists (and their disciples) argued that it is a conjunct (see Abdul-Hamid, ed., 1961, Vol. 2:456 ff.). Both analyses are based on sentence grammars.

CHAPTER SEVEN  
CONCLUSION AND  
THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

This research aims at finding the theme (also TM/TP/ foregrounding) of a narrative discourse. Following the centuries-old question of whether the theme is noun or verb, I tried both sides. I tried to find out if the theme of a narrative text should be the noun. Different approaches were applied, but the results were not satisfactory.

I then moved to the other approach, that is, of considering the verb as the theme of a narrative discourse, answering the question "what happened?" I found out an unambiguous answer to that question: the theme is expressed by the perfect verb. I applied it to a sample text by pulling out clauses with perfect verbs. The result was a cohesive precis of that text.

But I found problems. Not all the perfect verbs proved functional in conveying the TM of the text, so I had to find out the reasons for that. I analyzed the verb in the PA texts, contrasting the perfect in general with the imperfect, the perfect of the TM with that of the NTM and the imperfect of the NTM and that of the TM. I found out that each of these verbs exhibits the characteristics that had been given to it in the literature. But, these characteristics function

as they are supposed to only in the "unmarked" environments. Normally, the perfect functions in the TM and the imperfect in the NTM. However, I found out that each of these verbs can play the opposite pragmatic role if used in its opposite area of discourse under certain conditions. I found out that the perfect verb, which is normally used in the TM to indicate the real events, can be used in the NTM for hypothetical events. Parallely, though in the opposite direction, the subjunctive, which normally pertains least to time or dynamicity in the TM, leads the new "moves" in the discourse when subordinated to the verb Sār--"started." The condition for such contrasting functions of both verbs, I showed, is that of assertion or lack of assertion.

I also briefly treated word order in both the TM and the NTM of discourse. I found out that, while the verb initiates clauses which are neutral to the event, the NP initiates nonneutral clauses. Three pragmatic functions of an initial NP were illustrated: (1) general focus, preceded by the particle w--"and;" (2) emotionality, preceded by the particle (w)illa--"(and) suddenly;" and (3) contrast, where the NP is in the position of object. General focus, emotionality, contrast and neutrality were also shown to be phonologically differentiated.

## 7.2 Theoretical Implications

In truth, this research opened up more questions than it answered. However, it also highlighted an important factor in any future study: the ability of discorsal structure

to solve problems that may look inexplicable in a sentence grammar. Some of the issues that have been dealt with in this research are as follows:

1. The constituent that stands for theme cannot be taken in its absolute. Such constituent is discourse-conditioned.

2. The characteristics of the Arabic verb, problematic for sentence grammars, were clearly shown to be a matter of the unmarked vs. marked function, that is, according to its role in the TM and the NTM of a discourse.

3. Assertion, which was dealt with in sentence grammar, proved to be the dominant condition in affecting the discursual functions of the verb.

4. The conjunct w--"and," problematic in Arabic for sentence grammarians, proved functional in indicating the pragmatic function of word order.

5. The particles (w)illa and ma . . . ?illa, both meaning "suddenly," have not even been mentioned in sentence grammars. Their pragmatic functions in word order cannot be neglected.

6. Sār, considered "one of" the linking verbs by AGs and Arabists, proves to have a pragmatic function in discourse different from any of its group members.

7. Word order in Arabic has been problematic for the sentence analysis of both the old AGs and modern transformational generativists (Bakir, 1980:13, 125, 137, note 4). Analyzing word order in the context of discourse proved it

is pragmatically conditioned. Arabic dialects were described to be moving into SV word order (Lehman, 1976; Zughouli, 1979). To solve the problem, the function of the clause in the TM or NTM has to be taken into consideration. If a frequency count of both the perfect and imperfect clauses is to be the determining factor, the above opinions could prove true. If, on the other hand, the clause that conveys a neutral event is to be the deciding factor, then, PA is a VS language.

I am, however, aware of the limitations of this research. Firstly, each point that has been brought up can be dealt with as a research on its own. Secondly, I failed to treat the NTM comprehensively in this research, due to time and space limitations. The NTM is the area of subjective attitudes in discourse and is a challenge to the analyst. Thirdly, the approach applied in this research, i.e., Hopper's, proved functional in PA narrative. Yet it deserves comparison and contrast with Grimes's (1978b) and Gleason's (1973). These three approaches, I believe, can enrich the analysis. All are concerned with the verb, or the action in the event-line in narrative discourse. The results of this research will also have to be checked against other kinds of discourse. Of special interest to me will be a comparison between these texts, all given by women, and similar ones given by men.

## APPENDIX



# Text B

- (1) wʔif-na 9ala bāb is-sijen (2) nzil -na min l-  
stood-we at door the-prison got off-we from the-
- bāS (3) Tli9 -na la l-bāS it-tāni (4) Til9 - u  
bus got up-we to the-bus the-second went out-they
- ha n-niswān (5) Sār - u y -ʔūl-u ʔallahu  
these the-women started-they they-say-pl. God
- ʔakbar w y -Sawwt-u ʔallahu ʔakbar w iy -Swawwt-  
greater and they-shout-pl. God greater and they-shout -
- u (6) lā ʔana ma - sabb-at-tesh (7) ya9ni ʔa9Sāb-i mā  
pl. no I neg.-fixed-I -neg. means nerves-my neg.
- Haml-at -ni (8) nzil -t (9) shu fī yā nās shu  
held-she-me got off-I what there voc. people what
- fi ya 9ālam bi- s -sijen (10) ʔilla hum b- i -  
there voc. world in-the-prison suddenly then - they-
- ʔul-u (11) bi s-sijen ʔilli fāt - u zār - u  
say-pl. in the-prison who entered-they visited-they
- ʔabel -na (12) ʔiHna ma - zur -nā-sh wa la shuf-na  
before-us we neg.-visited-we-neg. and neg. saw-we
- ʔiHna (13) ʔāl- u Til9 - u l-masajīn wlād-na 9al-  
we said-they came out-they the-prisoners sons-our at-
- ēna w ʔal- ū -l -na (14) ʔintu jāyy -īn t - zur -ū -  
us and said-they-to-us you coming-pl. you-visit-pl.-
- na la ʔēsh (15) ʔiHna mā bid-na t - zur -ū -na (16)  
us for what we neg. want-we you-visit-pl.-us
- ʔij- u 9al-ēhom Hawāli talat daʔāya? w humme ʔā9d -  
came-they to-them around three minutes and they sitting-
- īn 9a li-bnūk (17) ʔal- ū -l -hom SīH -u maHalma  
pl. on the-seats said-they-to-them shout-pl. where
- ʔintu ʔa9d -īn (18) Sawwt- u (19) ʔiHna bi  
you-pl. sitting-pl. shout-you-pl. we in
- ʔihāne (20) ʔiHna bi Dīʔ (21) ʔiHna bi shidde  
insult we in pressure we in difficulty
- (22) ʔiHna b- i - zanzin -u fī-na (23) ʔiHna b- i -  
we - they-put in cells-pl. in-us we - they-

SallT -u 9alē-na l-Gāzāt is-sāmme (24) ?iHna b-i -  
direct-pl. at -us the-gases the-prisoners we - they-

SallT -u 9alē-na l-?aslāk il-kahrara (25) ?iHna  
direct-pl. at-us the-wires the-electricity we

?iHna ?iHna b- yi -9mal-u fī-na ?ashyā? Garīb -e (26)  
we we --they- do -pl. in-us things strange-f.

SiH -u la d-duwal l-?ajnabiyye barra (27) wadd- u  
shout-pl. to the-states the-foreign out send-pl.

la l-?umam il-muttaHide (28) wadd-u masalan la  
to the-nations the-united send-pl. for example to

S-Salīb (29) wadd-u la r-ru?asa yu nshul-ū -  
the-cross send-pl. to the-presidents they-rescue-pl.-

na min il-waDa9 w il-masha??a il -?iHna fī-ha  
us from the-situation and the-difficulty that- we in-it

(30) li?an ?iHna mawjud -īn bi- Dī? w masha??a  
because we existing-pl. in-pressure and difficulty

mish ma9?ūle (31) ?iHna mā bid-na t - zur -ū -na  
neg. believable we neg. want-we you-visit-pl.-us

(32) wa -la bid-na Hada y- zūr -na (33) yzarit-kom  
and-neg. want-we person he-visit-us visit-your

wa-la yumken ni-t?abbal-kom (34) ?iHna madyu? -īn  
and-neg. possible we-accept -your we pressured-pl.

b-shakel muxīf (35) id- dī? il -?iHna fī-i ma  
in-shape horrifying the-pressure that- we in-it neg.

Hada b-i - Tī? -o (36) ?iHna m-nu-Tlob min-kom ?in-  
person - he-endure-it we - we-ask from-you that-

kom t -sā9d- ū -na w it- SiH -u maHalma ?intu ?ā9d -  
you you-help-pl.-us and you-shout-pl. where you sitting-

In (38) ?in Darab- ū -kom (39) ?in ?atal- ū -kom (40)  
pl. if hit -they-you if beat -they-you

mahma 9iml- u fī-kom t - SiH -u maHalma ?intu  
whatever did-they in-you you-shout-pl. wherever you

?ā9d -in (41) Sār - u hadolāk y -Sawwt-u (42)  
sitting-pl. started-they those they-shout-pl.

?ija 9al-ēhom ij-jnūd (43) lēsh b-it -Swwt -u  
came on-them the-soldiers why - you-shout-pl.

- (44) shu fī (45) y -?ul- ū -l -hom lēsh b-it -?ūl-  
 what there they-say-pl.-to-them - you-say-
- u shu fī (46) ?intu min- fō? - ma tu-?utl- u  
 pl. what there you from-above-what you-beat-pl.
- wlād-na wiwlād-na maHkum -īn wi wlād-na masjun -  
 sons-our and sons-our sentenced-pl. and sons-our imprisoned-
- īn (47) fō? - ma tu-?tul- ū -hom wi t -9azzb - ū -  
 pl. above-what you-beat-pl.-them and you-torture-pl.-
- hom ma-hum maHkum -īn (48) lēsh it- 9azzb - ū -hom  
 them -they sentenced-pl. why you-torture-pl.-them
- (49) ba9d il- Hukom m-ni-9raf ?iHna d-duwal ma -  
 after the-sentencing - we-know we the-states neg.-
- fi - sh 9azāb 9and-ha (50) hāda maHkūm (51) hāda  
 there-neg. torture at -her this sentenced this
- lāzem t -rā9 - u shu9ūr -hom (52) shu9ūr -hom lāzem  
 must you-care-pl. feeling-their feeling-their must
- t -dīr - u bal -kom 9al-ēhom (53) hādōl taHt ri9ayit-  
 you-care-pl. thought-your on-them these under care -
- kome (54) hadōle hadōle (55) ?āl-l -hom ?ūm - u ya  
 your these these said-to-them stand-pl. voc.
- sharmūTat (56) yil9an ?abu ta9rīS -kom (57) ya  
 prostitutes curse father prostitution-your voc.
- manyukāt (58) ya qaHbāt (59) walek ya sharmūTa  
 fucked voc. whores you voc. prostitute
- (60) walek ya fulāne (61) min ha l-xurrāf ya9ni (62)  
 you voc. person from this the-speech means
- la-hōn hadōl Sār - u y -Sawwt- u w iy -?ūl- u  
 to-here these started-they they-shout-pl. and they-say-pl.
- ?allahu ?akbar ?allahu ?akbar (63) ?iHna mā Himl-at -na  
 God greater God greater we neg. held-she-us
- ya9ni ?a9Sāb-na (64) mā shuf-na ?illa ?iHna dasha9-na  
 means nerves-our saw-we suddenly we rushed-we
- dāxel ha s-sijen (65) w daxal -na dāxel ha s-  
 inside this the-prison and entered-we inside this the-
- sijen (66) w ?ij- u bi ha l-9uSi bi ha  
 prison and came-they with this the-sticks with this

- t-trūse 9ala wjūh -hom (67) bi ha l- ya9ni  
the-helmets on faces-their with this the mean
- jabha b-shakel jabha (68) mā Sār - u ?illa  
battlefront in-shape battlefront became-they
- l-?ahāli b-bāb is-sijen barra (69) Sār - u  
the-families in-door the-prison out started-they
- yu -Drub-u Hjār (70) w humme yu -Drub-u fi l-  
they-hit -pl. stones and they they-hit -pl. with the-
- 9uSi (71) humme yu -Drub-u bi li-Hjār w humme  
sticks they they-hit -pl. with the-stones and they
- yu -Drub-u bi l-9uSi (72) y - dāf9 -u 9an  
they-hit -pl. with the-sticks they-protect-pl. about
- nafs-hom ya9ni (73) ?ana jāy bidd-i ?a-Drub-ek bid-  
self-their means I coming want-I I -hit -you want-
- kī-sh ti- Hmi 9an nafs- ek (74) bas ya9ni la -  
you-not you-protect about self-your but means till-
- hōn ?inti masalan wlād-na la-Had ?ana ma ?ul-t  
here you-f. for example sons-our to-extent I said-I
- la l-wa??If illi 9ala l-bāb ?ul-t-l - o (75) ?iHna  
to the-guard who on the-door said-I-to-him we
- m-nu-Tlob min-kom kalām Hasan (76) kalām insani (77)  
- we-ask from-you speech fair speech human
- ?iHna mā ?iHna musta9idd-in ni- Hki kalām fawDaji  
we neg. we ready -pl. we-speak speech haphazard
- ?aw kalām wisex (78) li?anno ?iHna 9ēb 9alē-na (79) m-  
or speech dirty because we shame on -us -
- ni-xjal 9alē -e (80) ?iHna Harīm ?isim-na (81) lāzem  
we-shy about-it we female name-our must
- ?intu t-dīr -u bāl -kom 9alē-na (82) ?intu lā  
you-pl. you-care-pl. thought-your on -us you-pl. neg.
- t -kun-u ?iHna mustawa-na 9an -kom 9ali (83) lazem  
you-be -pl. we level -our from-you high must
- ?intu ti-HfaZ-u karamit-na w lāzem (84) mawjud -  
you-pl. you-keep-pl. pride -our and must existing-
- In 9ind-kom maHkum -īn (85) mish lāzem ?intu t -  
pl. at -your sentenced-pl. neg. must you-pl. you-

?addm -u ?il-hom ha l-?ihāne w ha l-?atel w  
present-pl. to-them this the-insult and the-hitting and

ha D-Darb (86) mish wlād-na humme ?int-u mā ?il-  
this the-beating neg. sons-our they you -pl. neg. to-

kom wlad (87) ?int-u mā ?il-kom xawāt mā ?il-kom  
you sons you-pl. neg. to-you sisters neg. to-you

?immayāt (88) mitelma ?iHna ?int-u (89) Hak -ēt ma9 -  
mothers same we you-pl. spoke-I with-

hom kalām Hasan ya9ni Hatta ?in-hom y - zū? -u 9ala  
them speech fair means so as that-they they-polite-pl. to

damm-hom ya9ni (90) ?āl- u ?abadan (91) ?iHna lāzem  
blood-their means said-they never we must

n- hīn karamit-kom (92) ?iHna lāzem n-da99es 9a rūš -  
we-insult pride -your we must we-tread on heads-

kom (93) ?iHna lāzem ni-9mal (94) ?iHna . . . (95) yā  
your we must we- do we . . . voc.

9amm-i Tab mish munāseb hāda (96) lēsh (97) maHkūm  
uncle-my then neg. adequate this why sentenced

hāda (98) lēsh t-da99s-u 9a rūš -na (99) ?iHna mā  
this why you-tread-pl. on heads-our we neg.

jīnā -hom bi kalām sāfel ?abadan (100) y -ta9riS-  
approached-them with speech low never they-insult-

u w iy - sharmiT -u w iy - sibb-u 9alē-na (101)  
pl. and they-ill behave-pl. and they-curse-pl. at -us

w bi ha l- 9uSi yit- hajjam-u 9a l- mara 9a  
and with these the-sticks yit-attack -pl. on the-woman on

l-bint yu -Drub-ū -ha (102) il- mara yu -Drub-ū -ha  
the-girl they-hit -pl.-her the-woman they-beat-pl.-her

?aktar min iz-zalame (103) shē? Garīb jiddan ya9ni 9umr-  
more than the- man thing strange very means life-

j mā HaSāl (104) halla? ?addēsh ?il-na mi-n - zūr  
it neg. happened now how much to-us - we-visit

b bīr issabe9 (105) 9umur-ha hāy illi HaSāl -at  
in Bir Sheba life-her this-f. that happened-she

9umur-ha ma HaSāl -at (106) la -ba9d hāda lli  
life -her neg. happened-she till-after this that

HaSal in- nās Til9 -at barra ya9ni (107) ?axad-  
happened the-people went out-she out means took -

u l-bint (108) il-bint dāxl -e juwwa bi ?alb  
they the-girl the-girl entering-f. inside in inside

is-sijen (109) ?axad- u l-bint Sār - u y -  
the-prison took -they the-girl started-they they-

shidd -u fī-ha min-ni min-hom (110) ?ana HāDen il-  
pull -pl. in-her from-me from-them I holding the-

bint bi -kul ?uwwt -i ya9ni (111) jāhz-e la l-bint (112)  
girl with-all strength-my means ready-f. to the-girl

dasha9- u 9ala-y Hawāli mit juudi (113) w humme yu -  
rushed-they at -me around 100 soldier and they they-

Drub-u (114) yu -?tul-u fi ha l- 9uSi it-  
beat-pl. they-beat-pl. with these the-sticks the-

tānyāt bi ?idē-hom (115) bi ?ijrē-hom (116) w  
other with hands-their with feet-their and

?ana ?a- SīH (117) ma - fī -sh Hada (118) Dall -  
I I-shout neg.-there-neg. person went on-

u y - jish -shu ha n- nās ?aTla9 - ū -hom  
they they-expell-pl. these the-people sent out-they-them

kull-hom barra (119) mā Dall -ēt ?illa ?ana w bint-  
all-them out neg. remained-I except I and girl-

i (120) w bint-i ?axad- ū -ha 9a s-sayyāra sakkar-  
my and girl-my took-they-her to the- car closed-

u 9al-ēha w ?ūl- i - ?ana Dall -etni fi bēn -hom  
they on-her and say-you-f. I remained- I in among-them

(121) y -daff9-u fi-yyi barra ?arja9 la-wara (122) y -  
they-push -pl. in-me out return to-back they-

daff9-u fi-yyi barra ?a- rja9 la-wara (123) bidd-i l-  
push -pl. in-me out I-return to-back want-I the-

bint (124) ?a-?ul-l -hom bid-di bint-i (125) Tab ?a9T-  
girl I-say-to-them went-I girl-my well give-

ū -ni bint-i (126) y -?ūl-u ?abadan fi -sh bint  
you-me girl-my they-say-pl. never these-neg. girl

(127) maHalma t -āxd -ū -ha xud- ū -ni (128) bid-kom  
wherever you-take-pl.-her take-you-me want-you

T -Tuxx -ū -ha Tuxx- ū -ni (129) bid-kom ti- s jin -  
you-shoot-pl.-her shoot-you-me want-you you-imprison-

u -ha ?isjin - ū -ni (130) shu l -bid -kom t -sāw-  
pl.-her imprison-you-me what that-want-you you-do -

ū -u fī-ha ?ana ?uddām-kom (131) ?ana m?āys -e 9an  
pl.-it in-her I front-you I sacrifice-f. from

Hayāt-i (132) mish mumken ?a- sīb bint-i (133) y -  
life -my neg. possible I-leave girl-my they-

?ūl-u ?abadan (134) lā dafa9 - ū -ni w ?axraj - ū -  
say-pl. never till pushed-they-me and expelled-they-

ni barra (135) xārej il-bāb (136) w?if-t 9ala bāb is-  
me out outside the-door stood-I at door the-

sijen Sur -t ?a-9ayyeT w ?a-SayyeH w ?a-Sarrex (137)  
prison started-I I - cry and I -shout and I -scream

Til9 - u bi l-bint bi s-sayyāra (138) fa Halla?-  
went out-they with the-girl by the- car so chased-

et la s-sayyāra (139) ?ul-t-il-hom ?ana hāy bid-di ?a-  
I to the- car said-I-to-them I here want-I I -

mūt (140) la yumken bint-i ?a- trik-ha (141) ?illa  
die neg. possible girl-my I -leave-her except

mitelma ?axad-tu bint-i bid-di ?a-rūH ma9-ha (142)  
same way took-you girl-my what-I I -go with-her

?āl ?abadan (143) ?abadan wala yumken (144) Za?aT - ū -  
said never never neg. possible caught-they-

ni w saHab- u -ni min ?uddam is-sayyara (145) w  
me and pulled-they-me from front the- car and

?axad- u bint-i fi is-sayyāra mā shuf-t-ha (146)  
took-they girl-my in the- car neg. saw-I-her

?illa ?ana Sur -t ?a- SīH w ?a-tfa9fal (147) dash9 -  
suddenly I started-I I -shout and I -shake rushed-

at ha l- ?ahāli 9ala-y ha l-9ālam (148) t-  
she these the-families at -me these the-people she-

?anne9 fi-yyi w it-haddi 9ala-yy ya9ni (149) ya9ni  
convince in-me and she-calm on -me means means

baSiTa shu bid-do y- Sir -il-ha hī (150) b-it -rawweH  
easy what want-it he-become-to-her she - she-leave

w ?ishi (151) ?ana shu9ūr -i mish ?ādr-e ?a-sabbet  
 and something I feeling-my neg. able-f. I- fix

Hāl-i w ?a9Sāb-i w ?ishi (152) ?ashyā? kār-at  
 self-my and nerves-my and something things was-she

Garīb -e jiddan (153) ?ashyā? kār-at mawaqif -ha ya9ni  
 strange-f. very things was-she positions-her means

shē? ma ?il-hā -sh wasef (154) la hāda l-  
 thing neg. to-her-neg. description to this the-

waDe9 intahē -na min-no  
 situation finished-we from-it.



Text B: Translation

(1) we stood at the prison door (2) we went down from the bus  
 (3) we went up to the next bus (4) the women went out  
 (5) they started to say "God is the greater" and to shout  
 (6) I could not endure (7) my nerves could not bear that  
 (8) I went down (9) "what is there, what is there in the  
 prison?" (10) they said that (11-12) those who entered before  
 them said that they did not visit (13) they said that their  
 sons, the prisoners, came to them and said (14) "why are you  
 coming to visit us? (15) we don't want you to visit us"  
 (16) they came to see them around three minutes and while  
 they were sitting on the desks (17-18) and told them "shout  
 in the place you are sitting in (19) we live in insult (20)  
 we are oppressed (21) we are suffering (22) they put us in  
 the prison cells (23) they spray us with poisonous gases  
 (24) they use electrical wires in punishing us (25) they do  
 to us strange things (26) shout to the foreign countries  
 (27) send to the united nations (28) send to the red cross  
 (29) send to the heads of states to rescue us from the hard-  
 ship and situation we are living under (30) because we are  
 living under unbelievable hardship (31) we don't want you to  
 visit us (32) and we want no body to visit us (33) we will  
 not accept your visit (34) we live under great oppression  
 (35) the oppression we live under can't be endured by any  
 human being (36-37) we ask you to help us and to shout where  
 you are (38) if they hit you (39) if they beat you (40)  
 shout where you are" (41) those started to shout (42) the

soldiers came to them (43)"why are you shouting? (44) what  
 is the matter?" (45) they were telling them "why do you say  
 what is the matter (46-47) you are beating our sons who  
 are already sentenced, and who are prisoners (48) why are  
 you torturing them? (49) we know that the states do not  
 torture a sentenced prisoner (50) these are sentenced (51-  
 52) you must take care of them (53) these are under your  
 care" (54-55) he said to them "get up, you prostitutes (56-  
 61) curse you, you whores" (62) to this point these started  
 shouting and saying "God is greatest" (63) we could not en-  
 dure (64-65) we rushed into the prison (66) and they came  
 with the sticks and the armour on their faces (67) like a  
 battlefield (68) the prisoners' families rushed out towards  
 the prison door (69) they started hitting with stones (70)  
 and they were hitting with the sticks (71) they were hitting  
 with the stones and they were hitting with the sticks (72)  
 they were protecting themselves (73) (if) I am coming to  
 beat you, will you not protect yourself? (74) to the extent  
 that I told the guard of the prison gate (75) "we ask po-  
 lite language of you (76) humane language (77) we are not  
 ready to use impolite language (78) because we find it  
 shameful (79) we are ashamed to do that (80) we are women  
 (81) you must take care of us (82) try to raise to our stand-  
 ard (83) you must not make us lose our pride (84) these  
 are under your control and sentenced (85) you should not  
 mistreat them (86) are they not our sons? do you not have  
 sons? (87) do you not have sisters? do you not have mothers?

(88) the way you are, we are" (89) I spoke with them nicely hoping they will become more human (90) they said "never (91) we must insult your pride (92) we must tread over your heads (93-94) we must do . . . we" (95-98) "but why? this is not fair; these are sentenced; why do you want to smash our heads?" (99) we did not approach them impolitely (100) they were cursing us (101) and with their sticks they were attacking the woman, the girl; beating them (102) they were beating the woman more than the man (103) a very strange thing that never happened (104) all the times we were visiting Birsheeba (105) what happened that day never happened before (106) after what happened, people went outside (107) they took the girl (108) the girl was inside the prison (109) they took the girl and started pulling her (110) I resisted them, I was holding the girl with all my force (111) ready for the girl (112) around a hundred soldiers rushed upon me (113) and they were beating with the sticks (114) with their hands (115) with their feet (116) and I was shouting (117) nobody was around (118) they went on pushing the people until they sent them all outside (119) no one remained except I and my daughter (120) and my daughter, they took her to the car and closed it on her and I remained among them (121) they were pushing me outside (122) and I was moving to the front (123) I want the girl (124) I tell them "I want the girl (125) give me my daughter" (126) they say "never, there is no girl" (127) "take me wherever you take her (128) if you want to shoot her, shoot me (129) if you want to imprison

her, imprison me (130) whatever you want to do with her, here I am in front of you (131) I don't care for my life (132) it is impossible that I leave my daughter" (133) they say "never" (134-135) until they pushed me and sent me outside (136) I stood by the prison door and started crying and shouting (137) they took the girl in the car (138) I stood in front of the car (139) I told them "here I am, I want to die (140) I will not leave my daughter (141) I want to go with my daughter" (142-143) they said "never, never" (144) they grabbed me and pulled me from the front of the car (145) and took my daughter in the car (146) so I fell on the ground shouting and in convulsions (147-148) the prisoners' families rushed at me trying to calm me down (149)"take it easy, what will happen to her? (150) she will leave" and something of the sort (151) I could not be calmed (152) things were very strange (153) things could not be described (154) to this situation, we ended with it.

## Text C

- (1) lamma ruH-na z-zyāra fi 9ashra sitte (2) t - fāja? -  
when went-we the-visit in ten six got-surprised-
- na bi z-zyāra il-9ādiyy -e (3) t - fāja? -na bi l-  
we in the-visit the-ordinary-f got-surprised-we by the-
- ?ahāli Sār - u y -Sawwt-u w y -Sarrx-u (4)  
families started-they they-shout-pl. and they-shout-pl.
- lamma 9rif-na ?iHna ?ēsh ?asbāb iS-Srāx (5) w humme  
when knew-we we what reasons the-shouting and they
- y -SayyH-u (6) ruH-na n-shūf-hom ?ēsh ?asbāb SyāH -  
they-shout-pl. went-we we-see-them what reasons shouting-
- hom (7) w-illa humme l-iwlād mi-Drib -īn (8) mi- Drib -  
their they the-boys on-strike-pl. on-strike-
- In 9an iz-zyāra (9) la ?asbāb -hom ?in-hom b- yi -  
pl. from the-visit for reasons-their that-they - they-
- 9azzb -ū -hom (10) b- u -Drub- ū -hom bi l-Gāz  
torture- -them - they-hit -they-them with the-gaz
- (11) b- yu -Drub-ū -hom bi ?aslāk il-kahraba (12)  
- they-hit -pl.-them with wires the-electricity
- b- i - daxxl -u 9alē-hom l-jēsh (13) Tab9an lamma  
- they-make enter-pl. on -them the-army of course when
- ?iHna shuf-nā-hom (14) il-kull Sār yi -bki (15) w  
we saw-we-them the-all started they-cry and
- il-kull it-?aththar min il-maw?ef illi ?iHna 9āysh-  
the-all got-effected from the-situation that we living-
- In shāyf -īn -o (16) ya9ni lamma Tli9 -na barra (17)  
pl. watching-pl.-it means when went out-we out
- Tab9an ?axraj- ū -na sh-shurTa (18) Sār - u  
of course made go-they-us the-police started-they
- musta9id-dīn ?abelma y-Sīr ?ayy ?ishi (19) Sār - u  
ready -pl. before he-become any thing started-they
- n-niswān Sār - u y - SiH -u (20) ba9dēn ?ām -  
the-women started-they they-shout-pl. then stood-
- u da?? - u fi bint min il-banāt (21) lamma da?? -  
they grabbed-they in girl from the-girls when grabbed-

u fī-ha Tab9an mā Hada sakat (22) Sār - u  
they in-her of course no one kept silent started-they

r-rjāl w il-banāt w in niswān (23) fi ?ēsh bid-  
the-men and the-girls and the-women with what want-

hom y - qawm -ū -hom fi li-Hjār (24) Sār - u  
they they-resist-pl.-them with the-stones started-they

y - qawm -ū -hom (25) humme yu -Drub-u (26) w humme  
they resist-pl.-them they they-hit -pl. and they

yu -Drub-u (27) t -Sāwab- u min-hom itnēn (28) min  
they-hit -pl. got-hurt -they from-them two from

il-jēsh ish-shurTa (29) lamma d-dāya?- u ktīr fataH-  
the-army the-police when felt bad-they much opened-

u 9alē-na l-bāb (30) w ?ij- u liH? - ū -na  
they on-us the-door and came-they followed-they-us

9a l -bāSāt (31) lamma liH? - ū -na 9a l -bāSāt  
to the-busses when followed-they-us to the-busses

Sār - u yi -stafizz -u l-?ahāli (32) yi -  
started-they they-challenge-pl. the-families they-

stafizz -u r-rjāl (33) w in-niswān yu -Drub-ū -  
challenge-pl. the-men and the-women They-hit -pl.-

hom (34) ba9dēn xallaS - u sh-shabāb min-hom (35)  
them then rescued-they the-men from-them

ir-rj ish shabāb illi sinn-hom zGīr mbayyen xall- ū -  
the-men the-men who age-their small showing kept-they-

hom y -Drub-ū hom ?uddām-na w iy - 9azzb -ū -hom  
them they-hit -pl. them front -us and they-torture-pl.-them

(36) ba9dēn nād - ū -l -hom ish-shurTa (37) ?axd-at -  
then called-they-to-them the-police took-she-

hom (38) lamma ?axd-at -hom Tab9an il-kul rawwaH  
them when took-she-them of course the-all left

ya9ni bi-Hāle Sa9be  
means in-state difficult

Text C: Translation

(1) when we went to the visit on June 10 (2) we were surprised in the ordinary visit (3) we were surprised that the prisoners' families started shouting and crying (4) when we knew the reasons of their shouting (5) and they were still shouting (6) we went to see the reasons for their shouting (7) we found out that the prisoners are on strike (8) they refuse our visit (9) for the reasons that they are being tortured (10) sprayed by poisonous gases (11) beaten by electrical wires (12) beaten in their cells by the army (13) of course, when we saw that (14) everyone started to cry (15) and all of us were stressed by the situation we are living under (16) when we went outside (17) of course, the police sent us out (18) they got ready before anything happened (19) the women started to cry (20) then they grabbed onto one of the girls (21) when they did that, no one kept silent (22) men, women and young men started to resist them (23-24) with what will they resist them? with stones (25) they were hitting (26) and they were hitting (27) two of them got injured (28) from the army, the police (29) when they felt very bad, they opened the prison gates (30) and followed us to the busses (31) they started provoking the families (32) provoking the men (33) and beating the women (34) then they rescued the young men from them (35) they kept the men who looked young to beat and torture them in front of us (36) then they called the police for them (37) who took them (38) when they took them, everybody left feeling very bad.

## Text D

- (1) ?awwal mā 9abar -na (2) 9abar ?awwal fōj y -  
first when entered-we entered first group they-
- zūr -u ?uddam-i (3) ?iHna ?ā9d -In 9a li-bnūk barra  
visit-pl. front -me we sitting-pl. on the-seats out
- (4) mi-n -sajjel ya9ni minshān warā-hom ?iHna nu-9bor (5)  
- we-register means for after-them we we-enter
- w -illa bint ?axū -y ?ana jaub-i b-a-?ul-l -ha  
and-suddenly girl brother-my I side-me - I-say-to-her
- (6) mitel hēk smi9 -t Sōt waHd-e Sarx -at (7) b-it -  
like this heard-I voice one-f shouted-she - she-
- ?ul-l -i mīn bidd-o yu- Srax (8) ?ul-t-il-ha smi9-t  
say-to-me who want-he he-shout said-I-to-her heard-I
- waHd-e Sarx -at (9) w -illa huwwe Srāx warā-  
one -f shouted-she and-suddenly he/it shouting after-
- ha Tile9 (10) w ?iHna barra ma m-ni-9raf-sh shu  
her erupted and we out neg. - we-know-neg. what
- d-da9we (11) w -illa w hinne Sār - u yi- t -  
the-matter and-suddenly and they started-they - they-
- rākaD-u (12) ?illi bi sh-short yi-lbas banTalōn-o  
run -pl. who in the-shorts he-wear trousers-his
- (13) w ill b- i - zarrer (14) w shū mitl l- maSarī9  
and who - her-button up and what like the mad
- inSara9- u (15) illi ?alla yi-Sra9 -hom (16) laHZa  
got mad-they who God he-shock-them minute
- shwayye fāt - u y -sakkr-u 9ala Hāl-hom (17)  
little entered-they they-close-pl. on self-their
- y -fūt -u y -sakkr-u 9ala Hāl-hom (18) ba9dī-  
they-enter-pl. they-close-pl. on self-their after-
- ha w -illa hinne mixrijin hadōke (19) xirj - u  
her and-suddenly they expelling those went out-they
- y - SīH -u (20) w illi barra jāwab - ū -hom ?allahu  
they-shout-pl. and who out answered-they-them God
- ?akbar (21) humme y -?ūl-u ?allahu ?akbar (22) w  
greater they they-say-pl. God greater and



illi barra ?āl- u ?allahu ?akbar ma9ā-hom (23) w -alla  
 who out said-they God greater with-them and-God

l-yahūd kān- u nāSt -īn (24) wala kilme (25) ?akal-  
 the-Jews were-they silent-pl. not word ate -

u bahdale (26) ?akal- u bahdale (27) ya9ni l-waHd-  
 they insult ate -they insult meaning the-one -

e t-Hut wıjj-ha bi wıjj- o (28) w it-?ul-l - o  
 f. she-put face-her in face-his and she-say-to-him

?imm -ak ti-nSimet 9al-ēk zayma li-b9īd-e hī maSmūt -  
 mother-your she-suffer on-you like the-far -f. she suffering-

a (29) wala kilme (30) wala y-shūf shu bi-t -?ul-l - o  
 f. not word not he-see what - she-say-to-him

(31) ya9ni ?akal- u bahdale zay ?akfi l-kitef (32)  
 means ate -they insult like back the-shoulder

Dall - u la 9indma wēn wSil -na (33) wSil -na  
 remained-they until when where reached-we reached-we

la ?āxer il-bāb barra (34) nās xirj -at w il  
 to last the-door out people went out-she and the-

?alīl barra (35) bass il-iktīr xirej (36) w -alla  
 few out but the-many went out and-God

?ana wā?f -e 9a li-mshabbak (37) ya9ni ?ana t-hayya?-  
 I standing-f. on the-wire means I - shaped-

at l-i zayy il-bawwābāt illi sakkar- u l-balad fī -  
 she to-me like the-gates which closed-they the-city with-

hom (38) ya9ni t-hayya? l-i nafs il-manZar hāda lli  
 them means shaped to-me same the-scene this that

kān 9ind il-bawwābāt (39) w ir-rashe? w il-i?yām -  
 was at the-gates and the-throwing and the-doomsday-

e kīf kān-at (40) t-hayya?-at l-i ?ana ?inno rkib-t  
 f. how was-she shaped -she to-me I that rode-I

9ala bawwābāt nables (41) ?uddam-i fī bint (42) b-a-  
 on gates Nablus front -me there girl - I-

9raf-sh fī mujannad-e w ill lābs -e l-?aHmar  
 know-neg. there soldier -f. and who wearing-f. the- red

li-mshallaH (43) tintēn waHd-e mjannad-e w it-tany -e  
 the-nude two one -f. soldier-f. and the-second-f

lli lābs -e sitri mshallaH ?aHmar (44) shū ?āl- u la  
 who wearing-f. dress nude red what said-they to

l-bint ma b-a-graf-sh (45) ma smi9 -t-esh (46)  
 the-girl neg. - I-know-neg. neg. heard-I-neg.

mā smi9 -t ?illa w il-bint b-it -?ul-l -ha ya  
 when heard-I suddenly and the-girl - she-say-to-her voc.

maHrū? ?abu hēk w hēk bi- dīn -ek (47) bas ?ana  
 burnt father this and this in-religion-your but I

mitl-i mitl-ek (48) ?ana min wara l-bāb il-Hādid  
 like-me like-you I from behind the-door the-iron

hāda li-mshabbak (49) w hinne min juwwa (50) hū-?int-  
 this the-wired and they from inside -you -

i b-ti -?dar-ī -l -i (51) ?āl-at bi sha9r il-yahndiyye  
 f. - you-can -f.-to-me did-she with hair the-Jewess

hēk (52) hinne shāf- u l-yahndiyye ntafash  
 like this they saw-they the-Jewess disrupted

sha9ir-ha w Dall bi-rās -hom 9a?el (53) ?imm -ha  
 hair -her and remained in-head-their brains mother-he

waHd-e xityār-a Tūl -ha ha - T - Tūl (54) laH2a  
 one -f. old -f. height-her this-the-height moment

tāny -e yimken w -illa hī b-it -nuT fi bēn -hom  
 another-f. maybe and-suddenly she - she-jump in between-them

(55) w shāf- u l-yahudiyy-e n-baTH-at w ma - Dall -  
 and saw-they the-Jewess lain -she and neg.-remained-

ēsh bi-rās -hom 9a?el (56) mā Hamal - u l-bint  
 neg. in-head-their brains when carried-they the-girl

w ?imm -ha ?illa zafat- ū -hom w -alla yimken  
 and mother-her suddenly threw-they-them and-God maybe

waSSal - ū -hom 9ind bāb il-bazār (57) w ?ām - u  
 made reach-they-them at door the-market and stood-they

?ām -at li- ?yāme (58) min sa9it-ha 9idem 9a?l - o  
 stood-she the-doomsday from hour -her lost brain-his

ha- sh-shabāb w ha li-wlēdāt (59) lamman shāf- u  
 this the- men and this the-boys when saw-they

l-bint ?akl-at ?atle w il- ?imm ?akl-at ?atle  
 the-girl ate -she beating and the-mother ate-she beating

(60) Sār - u kul Hajar hēk (61) hadōle yu -rshu?-  
 started-they all stone like this these they-throw-

u (62) w hadōle yu -rshu?-u (63) w il-wā9i ma  
 pl. and these they-throw-pl. and the-aware neg.

yi- w9a 9a- t -tāni kīf Tile9 9a l-bāSāt (64) wa  
 he-aware at-the-other how got up to the-busses and

la -ti - SH -i wēn ?int-i Tli9 - t -i wa la wēn  
 neg.-you-aware-f. where you -f. got up-you-f. and neg. where

?int-i wSil - t -i (65) w saHab -na Tari? -na w  
 you -f. reached-you-f. and dragged-we way -our and

?ijī-na  
 came-we.

Text D: Translation

(1) when we first entered (2) the first group entered to  
visit before me (3) we were sitting on the benches outside  
 (4) registering our names in order to take a turn after them  
 (5) suddenly I told my niece who was sitting beside me (6)  
that there is a voice shouting (7) she said "who will shout?"  
 (8) I said "I did hear shouting" (9) and suddenly more  
shouting followed (10) we were outside not knowing what is  
 happening (11) and they started running (12) the one in  
 shorts goes to wear his trousers (13) one buttoning his  
 buttons (14) just like mad people (15) they got mad, may  
 God madden them (16) a moment and they entered and closed  
the doors behind them (17-18) then they kicked out the ones  
inside (19) who went out shouting (20-22) and the ones out-  
side answered back "God is greater" (23) the Jews were lis-  
 tening (24) no word (25) they were cursed (26) abundantly  
 (27) i.e., the woman would put her face opposite his (28)  
 and tell him "may your mother suffer your loss, as she is  
 suffering" (29) no word (30) he would not see what she is  
 telling him (31) they were insulted a lot (32-33) they re-  
maind until we reached to the end of the outer door (34)  
some people went out, and others were outside before (35)  
but almost everybody was out (36) indeed, I was standing by  
 the wire (37) I imagined them like the gates that they closed  
 the city with (38) I imagined the same scene that was at  
 those gates (39) and the hitting and the hell that was (40)  
 I imagined myself at the gates of Nablus (41) there was a

girl in front of me (42) I am not sure there was the sol-  
dier woman and the one in a strapless red dress (43) two,  
one a soldier woman and the other woman who is wearing a  
strapless red dress (44) what they said to the girl I did  
not know (45) I did not hear (46) all what I heard is  
that the girl tells her "you bitch (47) but I am the same  
as you" (48) I was standing behind the iron checkered door  
(49) and they were inside (50) "do you think you can beat  
me?" (51) and she pulled the Jewess from her hair (52) when  
they saw what happened to the woman soldier, they got mad  
(53) her mother is an old short woman (54) a moment and she  
jumps inside them (55) when they saw the woman soldier  
beaten to the ground, they got mad (56) they carried the  
girl and her mother and threw them to a far distance (57)  
and hell started (58-59) the men and the boys got mad when  
they saw that the girl was beaten and the mother was beaten  
(60) they started throwing stones (61) these were throwing  
(62) and those were throwing (63) and you wouldn't know  
how everyone got into the busses (64) nor would you know  
where you went or where you were (65) and we dragged our  
way and came back.

## Text E

- (1) nzil-na ?awwal marra (2) ?awwal mishwār (3) fī bās  
 went-we first time first trip there bus
- uuddam-na (4) lamma 9abar ?awwal bās (5) 9abar - u  
 front -us when entered first bus entered-they
- t-sajjal - u (6) w ?iHna 9abar -na warā -hom (7)  
 registered-they and we entered-we after-them
- w?if-na 9a sh-shubbak (8) mā smi9 -na ?illa S-Swāt  
 stood-we at the-window when heard-we suddenly the-voices
- b- i -SīH -u (9) b- i -?ūl-u ?allahu ?akbar (10)  
 - they-shout-pl. - they-say-pl. God greater
- ?illa 1-jēsh dāfe9 bi n-nās ish-shāre9 (11)  
 suddenly the-army pushing with the-people the-street
- ?illa 1-jēsh il-muxābarāt wi d-dāwriyyāt  
 suddenly the-army the-secret service and the-patrol groups
- wu hāda 1-kull dasha9 9al-ēna (12) shu d- 9we (13)  
 and this the-all rushed on-us what the-matter
- shu d-da9we (14) ?illa b- i -?ūl-u 1-masajīn  
 what the-matter suddenly - they-say-pl. the-prisoners
- mākl-īn ?atle (15) w ?āt9 -īn 1-mayye 9an -  
 eaten-pl. beating and running off-pl. the-water from-
- hom (16) ?āt9 -īn il-kahraba 9an -hom (17)  
 them cutting off-pl. the-electricity from-them
- zirr il-bandōra b- yi -T9am-ū -u la ?arba9a (18) w  
 seed the-tomato - they-feed-pl.-it to four and
- fī bint min il-banāt 9abar - u y -fattsh-u kin -  
 these girl from the-girls entered-they they-search-pl. maybe-
- ha m-hassis- t -ha (19) ?alla b-yi-9lam shu 9amil- t -  
 she felt -she-her God - he-know what done -she-
- il-ha (20) ?ām -at HaTT-at -ha w ?aT9am-at -ha ?atle  
 to-her stood-she put-she-her and fed -she-her beating
- (21) mā ?atl-at -ha Sār -at Sār -at t - SīH  
 when beat-she-her started-she started-she she-shout
- ish-shurTiyy-e (22) dasha9- u 9alē-ha 1-jēsh nizl -  
 the-police -f. rushed-they on -her the-army went on-

- u fī-ha ?atel (23) lamma xirj- u (24) w ?iHna  
 they in-her beating when left-they and we
- ssa9ān mish msajjl -īn (25) wā?f -īn 9a sh-shubbāk  
 yet neg. registered-pl. standing-pl. at the-window
- hawiyyāt -na bi ?īd -na (26) ?ixrij-na (27) shu d -  
 I.D. cards -our in hand-our left -we what the-
- da9we (28) shu d- da9we (29) ?illa b- i -?ūl-u  
 matter what the-matter suddenly - they-say-pl.
- l-masajīn mi- Drib -īn (30) w b- i -?ūl-u ?uxruj -  
 the-prisoners on-strike-pl. and - they-say-pl. got out-
- u - ?ifDaH- ū -hom wēnma kān (31) hāda ?awwal  
 you-pl. uncover-you-them wherever was this first
- marra (32) w ixrij-na (33) fī waHd-e min dār . . .  
 time and left -we there one-f. from house . . .
- sitt ikbīr-e (34) Safran -at fi l-?arD (35) lawma  
 lady old-f. fainted-she on the-ground if it
- ha -sh -shabāb ?ām -at-ha w Sār -at  
 were not those-the- men lifted-f.-her and started-f.
- tidlaH 9al-ēha l-mayy tidlaH 9alē-ha (36) yu -rkuD-u  
 pour on-her the-water pour on -her they-run -pl.
- y - jīb -u mayye (37) w iy - jīb -u hāda (38)  
 they-bring-pl. water and they-bring-pl. this
- hal?ēt ?imm -ha ntafax wīj-ha (39) n - ?īm n - ?īm  
 now mother-her swollen face-her we-raise we-raise
- fī-ha ma -ni-?dar-sh (40) mitl in-nile ?alb -at  
 in-her neg.-we-can-neg. like the-blue turned-she
- (41) Sār -at ?ab - ū -kom w ?imm -kom (42) w  
 started-she father-you-your and mother-your and
- hinne y -?ūl-u sharamīt 9akarīt (43) min iz-  
 they they-say-pl. prostitutes prostitutes from the-
- zunnār w nāzel yu- nsuf - ū -l -hom (44) mā xrij-na  
 belt and down they curse-they-to-them when went-we
- barra ?illa Sār - u bi li-Hjāra yu -rshu?-u  
 out suddenly started-they with the-stones they-throw-pl.
- fī-na (45) hinne yu -nsuf -ū -l -hom (46) w hinne  
 in-us they they-curse-pl.-to-them and they

yu -nsuf -ū -l -hom (47) w 9a ?ōlet ?allahu ?akbar  
they-curse-pl.-to-them and at saying God greater

(48) wi sh-shuferiyye y - SīH -u y -?ūl-u ya  
and the-bus drivers they-shout-pl. they-say-pl. voc.

jamaaaa?a ?iTla9-u (49) mā xrij-na ?illa  
people/group got up-you-pl. when went-we suddenly

Sār - u bi ha li-Hjār rashe? (50) kul  
started-they with those the-stones throwing each

Hajar hēk (51) 9a l-bāS 9a s-sayyāra 9a l-hāda  
stone like this at the-bus at the- car at the-this

(52) w ?iHna illi nafad nafad (53) w illi misk -  
and we who escaped escaped and who caught-

ū -u misk - ū - u (54) w illi habas - ū -u  
they-him caught-they-him and who imprisoned-they-him

Habas - ū -u (55) hāda ?awwal riHle (56) mshī-na  
imprisoned-they-him this first trip left-we

Sār -at il- muxabarāt bi- nuSS -na ti-mshi (57)  
started-she the-secret service in-middle-our she-walk

?uddām bāS w tāni bāS w hiyyen bi- n - nuS Sār -  
front bus and next bus and they in-the-middle started-

u yi -msh -u (58) mā sadda? -na ?illa w ?iHna ni-  
they they-walk-pl. neg. believed-we we we we-

nafad 9an hadīk T-Tarī? (59) ?ul -na mi-n -lā? -ī -  
escape from that-f. the-road said-we - we-find-pl.-

hom 9ala bēt -sharf hal?ēt (60) rabb-na ?addar w  
them at Beīt-Sharaf now God -our estimated and

laTaf (61) w nafad -na  
cared and escaped-we.



Text E: Translation

(1) we went the first time (2) the first visit (3) there  
 was a bus in front of us (4) when the first bus entered  
 (5) they entered to register (6) and we entered after them  
 (7) we stood at the window (8) when suddenly we heard the  
voices shout (9) "God is greater" (10) suddenly, the army  
 was pushing the people to the street (11) suddenly, the  
army, the intelligence service and the patrol troops, all  
rushed upon us (12-13) "what is the matter?" (14) when  
they say that the prisoners are beaten (15) and they are  
 not supplying them with water (16) nor with electricity  
 (17) a tomato is given to four (18) and there is a girl,  
they entered to search; it seems that she touched her body  
while searching her (19) God knows what she did to her (20)  
so she put her and beat her (21) when the police woman was  
beaten, she started to shout (22) the army rushed upon her  
and went on beating her (23) when they left (24) and we  
 still had not registered (25) still standing by the win-  
 dow holding our I.D.s in our hands (26) so we went out  
 (27-28) "what is the matter?" (29) so they say that the pris-  
 oners are on strike (30) and they say we must go tell about  
 what is happening to them to the world (31) that was the  
 first visit (32) and we went out (33) there was a woman of  
X family, an old woman (34) she fell on the ground, fainting  
 (35) had it not been for the young men who took her and started  
pouring the water on her (36) they were hurrying to bring  
 water and other (37-38) so the mother had her face swollen

(39) it was hard to let her get up (40) she turned blue  
(41) and started cursing them (42) and they were cursing us,  
obscene language (43-45) when we left, they started throwing  
us with stones; they were throwing and they were cursing  
(47) and "God is greater" filled the place (48) the bus drivers  
were shouting on us to go to the busses (49-50) they went  
on hitting us with stones as we were leaving, big stones  
(51) on the bus, on the car, on everything (52) as for us,  
some escaped (53) some were caught (54) some were imprisoned  
(55) that was the first visit (56) we left, the intelligence  
service went on among us (57) they were between the busses  
(58) we could not believe that we will escape from that road  
(59) we said we will find them waiting for us on the road of  
Beit-Sharaf (60) God was merciful (61) and we escaped.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ilham Nayef Abu-Ghazaleh was born in Jafa, Palestine. Her family, never allowed to go back to Jafa after 1948, resettled in what has, since then, come to be called the West Bank. There, she had her school education at public schools. In 1964, she graduated from Cairo University with a B.A. in English literature. In 1976, the British Council in Jerusalem granted her a scholarship to prepare for her master's degree in applied linguistics. In 1977, she graduated from the University of North Wales, in Bangor, United Kingdom. In 1979, Birzeit University sent her on a scholarship to prepare for her Ph.D. in linguistics in the United States. In 1983, she graduated with a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Florida in Gainesville.

She worked in teaching English and instructing TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) students at government institutions and private colleges in the West Bank after she obtained her B.A. After 1977, she became a faculty member of Birzeit University. There, she taught English and linguistics and instructed graduate students preparing for their master's degree in applied linguistics (TEFL). She also taught Arabic at the University of Florida during her four-year preparation for her Ph.D.



Her free time was always spent outside her profession. She was an editor of the Jerusalem Times newspaper in 1965, and of Al-Fajr Arabic newspaper in 1975-1976. She, with a few friends, established Azzaytuna Theatre in her hometown, Nablus, in 1976. It was closed by the authorities a few months after. She helped in establishing a group for the support of the Palestinian working woman in the city of Ramalla (outside Birzeit University) in 1978. She published articles and research of literary and social concern in local newspapers and magazines. She was always a member in a number of local associations, both of social and literary concern, and helped in their activities.

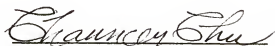
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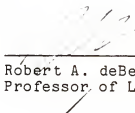
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Chauncey C. Chu, Chairman  
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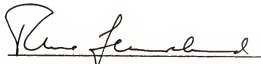
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Alice Faber  
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Rene LeMarchand  
Professor of Political  
Science

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William J. Sullivan

William J. Sullivan  
Associate Professor of  
Linguistics

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Program in Linguistics in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 1983

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Dean for Graduate Studies  
and Research